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# THE FOUNDATIONS OF INDIAN POETRY

## and their Historical Development

(General Outlines)

BY

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# PREFACE

Indian Poetry is of a peculiar kind. It is so closely connected with the theory of poetry, that it can only be understood fully when considered from this staddpoint. The Indian poet is not merely a poet, he is also a scholar.

The domain of poetics is a wide one, and in the various periods many learned men have written on and studied this subject. This book does not present the tenor of the *alaṃkāraśāstra* (poetics) of a limited period, but it is an attempt to describe the historical development of and the connection between the ideas of the older masters of the *śāstra*. Moreover, only the general questions are treated here, the examination of the special questions as *guṇa, doṣa, alaṃkāra* etc. being reserved for a later occasion.

There are four gentlemen to whom I am especially indebted and to whom I wish to express my thanks here: the learned editor of this series, Dr. Narendra Nath Law for his willingness to publish my little work; Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, who showed a warm interest in my work and acted as intermediary between Dr. Narendra Nath Law and me; my colleague in the Prussian State Library at Berlin, Dr. Cl. Sherwood who spent many morning hours in correcting and amending the English; and Dr. S. K. De at Calcutta, who not only read the proofs but gave much important informa-

tion on various questions, and on some difficult passages in the Sanskrit text.

Berlin,
*April 1923.*

J. NOBEL

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# INTRODUCTION

The poetic literature of India, with the exception of that which is of a merely narrative kind, is known under the name of *kāvya*; but as a rule, only the epic and lyric works are generally known by that name, while the dramatic literature takes up a more separate position, being a category of its own. It is, however, a fact that the Indian writers on Poetics positively state that the drama also is to be considered as a sort of *kāvya*. On the other hand, the *ālaṃkārikas* in their *śāstras* never deal exhaustively with the drama, but refer the reader to those works which particularly treat this subject. A book on poetic works in all branches, indeed, would have to be very extensive if the whole of dramatic literature were included. This department of literature has thus become a separate study[1].

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1 The oldest book on dramatic art is the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata-muni. There is to this day no critical edition of this book, which has always remained the standard work of its kind. The edition of the *Kāvyamālā* (Vol. 42) can only be called a preliminary edition. Some chapters are edited by P. Regnaud and J. Grosset in Annales du Musée Guimet, Tome 2, Paris 1880, and Annales de l' Université de Lyon, Fasc. 40, Paris 1898, respectively. Another important work is the *Daśarūpa* by Dhanañjaya, mainly based on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The author lived about the end of the tenth century A. D. A good edition was published by Fitz-Edward Hall, Calcutta 1865. The translation of the *Daśarūpa* by G. C. O. Haas (New-York 1912) contains

In speaking of *kāvya* we mean that kind of poetry which claims to be in accordance with certain theories, which are given and founded by a proper science called the *Alaṃkāra-śāstra.* Consequently, the *kāvya* cannot be understood and estimated to its full extent but by men of a certain literary accomplishment, who are themselves well-skilled in the conception of the aesthetic beauty of poetry, the learned ones or the men of taste, as they are called in the works on Poetics.

It is not necessary to prove that poetics are possible only under the supposition that Poetry existed already, and that Poetry is older than Poetics ; but if we try to go back to the beginning of both Poetry and Poetics, we find that the way ends in obscurity. That, however, is the general fate of all branches of human knowledge. As in the literature of other peoples, only the more precious works remain ; so it is also in India. Not only the less valuable works have been lost, but, what we regret a good deal more, also all those which, valuable in themselves, were replaced later by better works.

As regards poetry, our search appears to assume a better aspect at the outset because Indian

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many mistakes (cf. Jacobi's review in Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen 1913, p. 302 ff). A third important work on the same subject as well as on poetics is the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* composed by Viśvanātha Kavirāja (about the end of the 14th century). Of this there are several editions, e.g. that of E. Roeer and R. Ballantyne, Calcutta 1851, and a translation into English by R. Ballantyne and Pramadadāsa Mitra, Calcutta 1875.

tradition itself calls Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* the *ādi-kāvya*[1], but it must be confessed that we do not gain very much by this statement. Let it be granted that according to the researches of Prof. J a c o b i, the *Rāmāyaṇa* probably belongs to the fifth or even the sixth century B. C., and that it is older than the *Mahābhārata*[2], still it remains quite uncertain to what extent the individual parts are to be considered as going back to yet older texts. Besides, there is still the difficulty, which up to this day nobody has been able to solve, namely, that of restoring out of the mass of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as it is

1 Not everywhere though. So in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsa* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. 1, p. 7) the *Rāmāyaṇa* is called *itihāsa* and the *(Mahā-)bhārata saṃhitā* (*sa [Vālmīkiḥ] tu mahāmuniḥ pravṛttavacano Rāmāyaṇam itihāsaṃ samadṛbhat. Dvaipāyanas tu ślokaprathamādhyāyī tatprabhāvena śatasāhasrīṃ saṃhitāṃ Bhāratam*). A few lines before we are told that Vālmīki invented the *śloka* and in the second *adhyāya* (p. 3) *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhārata* are spoken of in a similar way as being a kind of *itihāsa* belonging to the category of *purāṇa*. (*Sargaḥ pratisaṃhāraḥ kalpo manvantarāṇvi aṃśavidhiḥ | jagato yatra nibaddhaṃ tad vijñeyaṃ purāṇam iti || "purāṇapravibheda evetihāsaḥ" ity eke | sa ca dvidhā parikriyāpurākalpābhyām | yad āhuḥ | parikriyā purākalpa itihāsagatir dvidhā | syād ekanāyakā pūrvā dvitīyā bahunāyakā || tatra Rāmāyaṇaṃ Bhārataṃ codāharaṇe |*). In the opinion of Rājaśekhara, therefore, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is older than the *Bhārata*.

2 See H. J a c o b i's work : Das Râmâyaṇa, Geschichte und Inhalt, Bonn 1893, p. 100 ff. H. O l d e n b e r g in a posthumous work : Das Mahabharata, Seine Entstehung, sein Inhalt, seine Form, Göttingen 1922, p. 53 ff, does not agree entirely with the theories of Jacobi, without giving

known to us, the old form of the *'ādi-kāvya'*. Every manuscript varies from the other to such a degree, and in different places the epic poem has been altered to such an extent, that we are accustomed to speak of various and different versions.

It is, however, a task not quite hopeless, to examine the older literature, and find out whether there is any connection between it and those literary compositions that are *kāvya*-like, as, e.g., the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a *kāvya*. Though I cannot deal fully with the matter here, a few remarks may be allowed. Even in the *Ṛigveda* we find several hymns, in which the poets endeavour to leave the low level of mere invocations and in which they are trying to show a certain skill in poetic matters. A real *kāvya*-style, however, can scarcely be found in any of *Ṛigveda* hymns. For this, the distance in time between the Vedic poetry and the Sanskrit period appears to be too great. But going further and investigating the texts of the later and the latest Vedic period, certain passages in the *Brāhmaṇas*, which are, however, not very numerous, and especially a little epic work, very important in the development of poetry, the *Suparṇādhyāya*[1],

however, strict arguments against Jacobi's statements. It is a matter of course that many passages in the great epic go back to older times, but the question is at what time the *Mahābhārata* or rather *Bhārata* as a whole, as a *Saṃhitā*, as Rājaśekhara calls it, was completed. That seems to have been the case later than the composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

1 Edited by Elimar Grube, Berlin 1875. Published also, but only the text, in Albrecht Weber's Indische Studien, Vol. 14.

(which shows the characteristic feature of the Vedic time and, on the other hand, bears the stamp of the *kāvya*-style) we may find that there is an uninterrupted line leading to that sort of poetry which we meet in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. Perhaps, Vālmīki was the first who created a perfect and great poetic work, and many things may have been introduced by him, so that his work with some right can be regarded the type of literary composition, and thus as the *ādi-kāvya*.

Large passages of the *Rāmāyaṇa* could very well have a place in the *kāvyas* of the later period without disagreeing with the poetic theories of the *ālaṃkārikas*. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that many poetic factors, similes, and other details are taken from older works which are lost for ever. On account of the high reputation attached to the *Rāmāyaṇa* from the beginning, it must be regarded as a matter of course that the less poetic compositions in the period before Vālmīki could easily fall into oblivion. So the *Rāmāyaṇa* obtained a position of marked importance in the development of the *kāvya*.

The *Mahābhārata* which, with regard to the text, presents even more difficulties than the *Rāmāyaṇa*, is not called a *kāvya* by Indian tradition; but can anybody deny that also in this great epic there are many passages to be found showing very clearly all the characteristics of the *kāvya*-style? As a whole, the *Mahābhārata* is, as has been pointed out by Prof. Jacobi, younger than the work of Vālmīki, yet nothing is said thereby with regard to the various

parts the epic consists of; and a history of the *kāvya* has to examine the *Mahābhārata* as well as the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Thus we may call, with some reserve, the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki a mark-stone in the historical development of the *kāvya*-literature. From here the road leads to Aśvaghoṣa, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, and Māgha, only to mention the most important representatives of poetry. The significance of some *kāvyas* was so great that the less famous works written before them have been forgotten. The fact, however, that during long periods no *kāvya* is known to us, does not allow us to conclude that during these periods there was no cultivation of the *kāvya* at all. Prof. Max Müller's theory of the "renaissance" of Indian Poetry has been refuted by Prof. Georg Bühler, who after having examined the inscriptions of the Gupta kings has pointed out that in the period before that of Kālidāsa the *kāvya*-style was on the contrary highly cultivated, which is shown also by the compositions of Aśvaghoṣa[1] and Bhāsa[2], whose dramatic works were discovered lately.

Indian Poetry is written mostly in Sanskrit, and this fact shows that the *kāvya* was not a poetry for the great mass of the people, but only for the educated classes. Besides that, we can read in every *kāvya* that the poets wish to satisfy the wise ones, who alone are able to understand and estimate poetry fully.

1 See H. Lüders: Bruchstücke indischer Dramen, Berlin 1911.

2 Edited by Gaṇapati Sāstrin in the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*.

In India all branches of human knowledge, with the exception of that of history in which the Indian people in the older times never took a warm interest, have always been adapted to scientific systems ; and the same was done with Poetry, and Poetics soon became a separate system. The poet could not but respect the theories and the rules which were presented by the learned ones in their *śāstras*, if he wished to be acknowledged. Far from making himself independent of these theories[1] he endeavoured anxiously to be in accordance with every thing laid down by the laws of Poetics and to be, so to speak, mathematically exact in inventing new and varying old forms of similes, in selecting words, phrases etc., which had to agree fully with the *rasa* of the matter in question.

This science is named *Alaṃkāra-śāstra*. If we try to determine its age, we must unfortunately admit that the attempt is a good deal more difficult than to give an historical account of Poetry itself. It has been said before that the writers on Poetics regard the drama as a branch of the *kāvya*, but probably dramatic writing and the art of epic and lyric poetry in the older period were independent of each other, dramatic works being the oldest. For it must be conceded

1 It is therefore not correct, when R. P i s c h e l (Kultur der Gegenwart, Berlin u. Leipzig 1906 1, 7 p. 201) says that Kālidāsa in the *Kumārasaṃbhava* has made himself almost entirely free from the rules which are applicable to the *mahākāvya*, whilst in the *Raghuvaṃśa* he has followed them. That this view is wrong requires no proof. Besides, there can be little doubt that the *Raghuvaṃśa* was written after the *Kumārasaṃbhava*.

that the essential features of the drama and particularly of the older drama belong solely to dramatic art and could not be transferred to epic and lyric poetry. Later on, however, when the drama was assuming a more or less epic and lyric character, when the story was interrupted by verses which in a sentimental way described all sorts of situations, then of course dramatic writings and *alaṃkāra-śāstra* came together. Thus it became quite natural that in the works dealing with the drama, Poetics were also touched on as far as it was necessary to the dramatic poet. These metrical passages were, however, by nature strange to the drama, because the verses, as it were, tend more to hinder the course of the story than to promote it. The strict *kāvya*-style could have but a subordinate place in the drama, which was enacted before the eyes of the spectators and thus had to be written in an easier style. Matters however, changed. Already in the age of Kālidāsa and to a much larger extent in that of Bhavabhūti the character of the *nāṭakas* grew a good deal more lyric and epic, thus approaching that kind of poetry which is to be found in the so-called *mahākāvyas*, and so dramatic writing was regarded by the *ālaṃkārikas* as a kind of *kāvya*.

Now the oldest book treating of poetic matters is a work on dramatic art, viz. the *Nāṭya-śāstra*. It is said to have been composed at a remote period by Bharata-muni. According to more recent views, however, it is not very much older than Bhāsa, and it must be added that the state of the text as it is printed in the Indian edition[1] is rather bad. Much

1. *Kāvyamālā* no. 42. See above note on p. 1.

research and investigation there must be before that important work will take its proper place in the history of Indian Poetry. The great importance of the book cannot be denied, if one bears in mind that it was always regarded as an authority with respect to all matters belonging to the art of dramatic writing and that many of the later books dealing with the same subject are based on it, e.g., the *Daśarūpa* of Dhanañjaya. Besides the doctrines of dramatic writing, some poetic matters are also dealt with, so far as they are necessary for dramatic poets.

Considering the whole mass of books that have been written by Indian scholars on poetics it can be easily seen that the *alaṃkāra-śāstra* is not a doctrine the system of which shows uniformity at all. On the contrary, from the beginning to the modern times there has been a steady growth and development. The views of the older works were rejected or modified, one theory was substituted for another, and poetry was regarded from quite different points of view ; in short, there was scarcely one theme that did not assume a new aspect in the course of the historical development. Compared with other branches of human knowledge this progress and growth was throughout natural and intelligible and in accordance with the progressive methods employed in treating abstract matters.

The refinement of taste for poetic matters became more and more visible. Even poets who are chronologically not far apart show slight differences in dealing with the poetic material. These differences, however, present themselves a good deal more clearly, if literary compositions of different

periods are compared with each other. For instance, it appears a thing hard to believe that the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Śiśupālavadha* belong to the very same sort of poetry, the *kāvya*. It is not possible to enumerate these differences shortly here. The quintessence of a poetical work seems to have become different. Regarding Vālmīki it is evident that the plot occupies the main interest and that the poet endeavours to narrate a series of actions, which in their totality have an interest of their own, and these events in the history of Rāma and Rāvaṇa are described in a poetical and pleasant manner. The employment of poetic forms is to be considered, as Bhāmaha would say, as a mere exterior (*bāhya*) ornament. The epic element was regarded as the main part. With respect to Māgha, on the other hand, the description of actions is placed into the background, existing as it were only on account of their being indispensable for another purpose. Poetry has ceased to be a poetical description of the deeds of heroes, poetry has become desirable in itself. The plot of a poem could be told in a few lines. The brilliance and elegance of style, the mathematically and logically exact congruence of the separate parts of similes, and all the other things which are described in the *śāstras*, was the end the poet was aspiring to. Hence it comes that the stanzas following each other are much less coherent in themselves. On the contrary, every verse stands so to speak like a monument polished by the skill of the highly learned poet, who shows his genius (*pratibhā*) and his wide experience (*śakti*) in all matters that have to do with poetry.

As a matter of course these differences, which can be observed during the long period of the *kāvya*, correspond with the theories of the *ālaṃkārikas*. If we wish to get a correct idea of the whole *kāvya* literature and to be qualified to understand the Indian *kavi* without prejudice, it seems to be necessary to know the views of the theoretic scholars. We will therefore look into the doctrines of the *alaṃkāra-śāstra*, giving a sketch of the views on poetic matters and pointing out by which ways the older theories are assumed and specified by the younger representatives of the *śāstra*. This literature being a very large one, we shall but deal with the older writers on poetics, examining the more recent books only in such cases when it is required for the correct interpretation of the opinions of the classical period.

Before going into detail we will cast a look at the poetical theories the *ālaṃkārikas* deal with and at the way in which their systems are presented. Leaving aside the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata-muni, which as a book on *dramatic* writing must take its place in the history of that art, the oldest work we know of is the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* by the famous B h ā m a h a. Some older writers we know only by name. The most remarkable among these apparently was M e d h ā v i n or M e d h ā v i r u d r a, as he may be called more correctly[1]. He is not only mentioned by Bhāmaha, but also in the later works on *alaṃkāra*, and in commentaries he is frequently cited as a man of great

1 See e. g. Rājaśekhara, *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* p. 12, l.1; Namisādhu on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṃkāra* II, 2 ; XI, 24.

authority. *He is said to have been blind*[1]. *Regard*ing the fact that many works which seemed lost have been discovered in Indian libraries we may hope that Medhāvirudra's book will come to light some day.

The *Kāvyālaṃkāra* by Bhāmaha, which was edited for the first time some fifteen years ago, did not lose its renown even when poetry was looked upon from a higher point of view. The work is divided into six *adhyāyas*. After having opened with an introductory verse the author praises the effect and describes the causes of good poetry. Then a highly important question is touched and discussed, viz., that of the position the *alaṃkāra* is attaining in poetry. Then the definition of the *kāvya* is given, and thereafter its divisions. The following verses are devoted to a very grave and interesting matter, the *rīti* (style or diction as the Sanskrit term is sometimes, but not quite correctly, translated). Bhāmaha opposes the opinion that there are some different *rītis*. Now, not every way of expressing the sense is to be called a beautiful and correct one. The *kavi* has to avoid certain *doṣas* or faults. It is stated, however, that the *doṣas* must not in all cases be considered to make a *kāvya* worthless. There are some things that are far from being strictly correct but are in some way or another sanctioned by tradition. The second book begins with a rejection of the doctrine of the *guṇas*, the rejection being understood, how-

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1 Rājaśekhara l. c.: *Medhāvirudra-Kumāradāsādayo jātyandhāḥ kavayaḥ śrūyante.*

ever, indirectly. For the term of *guṇa* itself is not used in this connection by Bhāmaha, who speaks only of *mādhurya*, *prasāda*, and *ojas*. After having settled this question in only three stanzas, while in other works (e. g. in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* or in the *Kāvyādarśa*) it is dealt with much more extensively, the author goes on to define and illustrate the *alaṃkāras*, which he considers to be the essence of poetry, as we may guess even from the title *Kāvyālaṃkāra*. This theme is exhausted at the end of the third *adhyāya*. The *alaṃkāras* are divided into two groups: *śabda* and *abhidheya-(artha-) alaṃkāras*. When the doctrine of the *alaṃkāras* will be treated at length, we shall deal with the question whether something can be guessed from the manner of enumerating the *alaṃkāras*, and with certain other things belonging to the same matter. In the fourth book the author givos a full account of the so-called *doṣas*, which, as we said before, in many cases cease to be faults. In the next *adhyāya* we meet with the elaboration of a logic of poetry (*nyāyanirṇaya*), while in the last chapter the work winds up with a descriptiou of grammatical correctness (*śabdaśuddhi*). It may be mentioned that later on Vāmana will end his *Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti* with a chapter of a similar content.

The next writer on poetics is D a ṇ ḍ i n. On account of his being connected very closely with Bhāmaha there cannot be a correct judgment of the *Kāvyādarśa* without knowing the latter's *Kāvyālaṃkāra*. Daṇḍin appears to be an

opponent of Bhāmaha, and his manner of polemics against his predecessor bears a rather personal stamp, which the reader of the *Kāvyādarśa* can hardly fail to see. Thus, in my opinion, we may be right in assuming as a fact that Daṇḍin, though he wrote his work later than Bhāmaha, was a younger contemporary of Bhāmaha. If this statement is correct (and I hope the reader will come to the same conclusion after having examined the following pages wherein the views regarding the foundations of poetry are dealt with fully) it will become necessary to place both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin (and not only one of them) either before or after the time of Kālidāsa. This question, a highly important one for the history of the Sanskrit and Prakrit literature, has not yet been solved with absolute certainty to this day. The only certainty is the life-time of Kālidāsa. He must have flourished about the middle of the fifth century A. D. when Kumāragupta I (455-480) was reigning[1]. Did Bhāmaha and

1 It would fill a big volume, if I should attempt to give the literature concerning the date of Kālidāsa and so I will not add a new essay to the older ones. I may mention that in my opinion the title *Kumārasaṃbhava* can only be completely understood, if we assume that the author has chosen it with respect to king Kumāragupta, and that the title *Vikramorvaśī* in a similar way refers to the surname of Candragupta ( Vikramāditya), and that Mallinātha ( commenting *Meghadūta* 14) takes for granted that the well-known philosopher Diṅnāga lived before or during the same time as Kālidāsa. By the way it may be mentioned that the commentator Vallabha,

Dāṇḍin live before or after this time? I confess that formerly I was inclined to put both *ālaṃkārikas* before Kālidāsa. I cannot prove it by direct arguments, but after having read the work of Bhāmaha, I had the impression that it must be a very old book. The authors and works Bhāmaha mentions (*Asmakavaṃśa* I, 33; *Rāmaśarman* II, 58; II, 19; *Acyutottara* II, 19; *Śakavardhana* II, 47; *Rājamitra* II, 45; III, 10; *Ratnaharaṇa* III, 8) are all quite unknown to us. Indeed, the many arguments which were brought forth to strengthen the contrary view do not settle the matter. It is true, however, that Bhāmaha mentions the clouds (*jalabhṛt*) among the things which should not be represented as messengers. What else could Bhāmaha have in view but Kālidāsa's well-known *Meghadūta*? But, on the other hand, would Bhāmaha have found fault with it, had he known the *Meghadūta*, which famous and splendid poem must have convinced every man that, on the contrary, a cloud was very well fit for acting the part of a messenger? Some have tried to find out some chronological relation between Bhāmaha and Māgha. Using the term *śabdārthau* in *Śiśupālavadha* II, 86 Māgha is said to refer to the definition of *kāvya*

who does not give the interpretation concerning Diṅnāga, is not an old author, as E. Hultzsch thinks, (see introduction to his edition of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*), but belongs to the twelfth century, as is shown by K. Pathak in the introductory pages to the second edition of the *Meghadūta*, Poona 1916.

as *given by Bhāmaha*[1], *but if this is considered* as an argument I may be allowed to take as an argument of the same force that Kālidāsa in *Raghuvaṃśa* I, 1 by the words *vāgarthāviva sampṛktau* refers to the very same definition of Bhāmaha, and that by this fact Bhāmaha's priority may be taken for granted. By using the simile of *śabdārtha*, however, Māgha probably refers to that of Kālidāsa or perhaps to some other view and not to the definition of *kāvya* in Bhāmaha. This argument, however, is of no great value, because the

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1 K. B. Pathak in *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 23, p. 31. Against the statements made here, see P. V. Kane in a paper Bhāmaha, the Nyāsa and Māgha ib. Vol. 23, p. 91 ff. Pathak in the essay mentioned above has made an attempt to show that the term *nyāsakāra* used by Bhāmaha, *Kāvyālaṃkāra* VI, 36 refers to Jinendrabuddhi, a Buddhist commentator on the *Kāśikāvṛtti* who must have lived about 700 A. D. and he has defended his arguments against P. V. Kane (referred to above) in a paper Dandin, the Nyasakara, and Bhamaha, *Indian Antiquary* 1912, 232-37. Compare also Trivedi's Introduction to the *Pratāparudrīya (Bombay Sanskrit Series* Vol. 65) p. xxxv. I am sorry to say that Pathak's arguments in my opinion fail to settle the matter. His polemics against Kielhorn, too, who in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1900, part 1, pp. 499-502 dealt with the statements in *Śiśupālavadha* II, 112 and pointed out that by the words *vṛtti* and *nyāsa* the author of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* Jinendrabuddhi, is alluded to (what Mallinātha has already said), is far from convincing. The theory of Daṇḍin's priority to Bhāmaha, assumed by K. B. Pathak and other scholars, needs no further refutation. That the contrary is correct will be shown by the pages below.

so-called definition of *kāvya* (as consisting of word and sense united) may go back to some older *ālaṃkārikas* and because, as will be shown later on, that definition in the same or a similar form is given also by scholars posterior to Bhāmaha. Nevertheless, Bhāmaha (and Daṇḍin) seem to have written after the time of Kālidāsa. Prof. J a c o b i[13] draws my attention to the fact that Bhāmaha in V, 28, 29 refers clearly to Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu* III, 138, 139[14]. In other cases, however, Bhāmaha seems to be dependent on the philosopher Diṅnāga, who is older than or rather contemporaneous with Kālidāsa and is, according to Mallinātha, alluded to in *Meghadūta* 14.

To return to D a ṇ ḍ i n, the *Kavyādarśa* [15] con-

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13 In a letter dated March 29, 1922. Prof. J a c o b i 's paper on this subject entitled Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, ihr Alter und ihre Stellung in der indischen Poetik, is now printed in *Sitzungsberichte d. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1922.

14 Bhāmaha V, 28, 29 :

*dūṣaṇa(ṃ) nyūnatādyuktir nyūnaṃ hetvādinātha ca |*
*tanmūlatvāt kathāyāś ca nyūnaṃ neṣṭaṃ pratijñayā ||*
*jātayo dūṣaṇābhāsās tāḥ sādharmyasamādh(dṛ)ayaḥ |*
*tāsāṃ prapañco bahudhā bhūyastvād iha noditaḥ ||*

Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu* (*Bibliotheca Buddhica* Vol. VII, p. 94), III 138, 139 :

*dūṣaṇāni nyūnatādyuktiḥ ||*
*ye pūrvaṃ nyūnatādayaḥ sādhanadoṣā uktās teṣām udbhāvanaṃ dūṣaṇam | tena pareṣṭārthasiddhipratibandhāt ||*

15 Edited several times, e. g. at Calcutta 1863, with a very good commentary by P r e m a c a n d r a T a r k a v ā g ī ś a. Another Indian edition was published by

sists of three books. Opening with an introductory verse and after having referred in a general way to the older works on poetics, Daṇḍin praises the advantages of good poetry, in a manner similar to that of Bhāmaha. In order to explain what is meant by good poetry, *śāstras* have been composed, which deal with the body (*śarīra*) of poetry and its ornaments (*alaṃkāra* in the wider sense of this word). Daṇḍin next gives an account of the body. We meet with the definition and division of *kāvya*. These explanations are, to a greater part, to be considered as a refutation and a correction of the views of his predecessor.

Then Daṇḍin goes on to give a detailed account of the doctrines of both *rīti* and *guṇa*, thus indicating a point of view different from Bhāmaha's treatment of the matter, as will be shown below. In the last part of the first book the author points out what is necessary and desirable for becoming a real poet (*kavi*).

The second *adhyāya*, which contains not less than 368 verses, is wholly devoted to the definitions and illustrations of the *arthālaṃkāras*, while in the first 96 stanzas of the last book all the different species of *śabdālaṃkāra* are dealt with, the illustrative verses being to some extent horribly difficult. Daṇḍin had a special liking too for the riddle (*prahelikā*) and gives its divisions in 28 verses. The

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*Vidyāsāgara*; fifth edition, Calcutta 1911. There is also a German edition of the text, together with a German translation, by O. Boehtlingk, Leipzig 1891.

rest of the *adhyāya* (51 stanzas) has the doctrine of the so-called ten *doṣas* for its subject.

The *ālaṃkārikas*, who followed Daṇḍin chronologically, were Vāmana and Udbhaṭa. Though they were contemporaries (they both lived at the court of king Jayāpīḍa, 779-813), their works have but little in common. Perhaps their respective standpoints would have been clearer to us, if the other works of Udbhaṭa were known to us. Both Udbhaṭa and Vāmana are well acquainted with Bhāmaha.

Vāmana[16] was the first to treat the matter in *sūtra*-form. These *sūtras* were of course, hardly comprehensible by themselves ; a commentary was needed, the author of which is also Vāmana. Thus his work goes under the name *Kāvyālaṃkāra-sūtra-vṛtti*. It is worth noting that this title may have been chosen with reference to Bhāmaha, whose work bears the same name *Kāvyālaṃkāra*. It is divided into five *adhikaraṇas* : the first containing three, the second and third two, the fourth three, and the last two *adhyāyas*.

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16 Edited as No. 134 and 140, in the *Benares Sanskrit Series*, 1907-08 ; as No. 5 in the *Sri Vani Vilas Sastra Series*, Srirangam, 1909 ; as No. 15 in the *Kāvyamālā*, Bombay, 1889 ; in Germany by C. Cappeller, Jena, 1875. The same scholar also gave the text and translation alone of the last book of Vāmana's, under the title : Stilregeln, Strassburg, 1880. A translation of the entire work of Vāmana is given by Pandit Gaṅgānātha Jhā, *Indian Thought Series*, no. 3, Allahabad, 1911-12. There are, besides, some other editions, which I will not enumerate here.

Vāmana opens with the statement that the *kāvya* is acceptable on account of its embellishments (*alaṃkāra* in the wider sense). Then is pointed out what is meant by the word *alaṃkāra*, i. e. the avoidance of the *doṣas* and the employment of the *guṇas* and *alaṃkāras* (in the narrower sense). In the last *sūtra* of the first *adhyāya* the effect of a good *kāvya* is spoken of. Then the question is answered as to who should be taught to compose a *kāvya*. Next, Vāmana deals with the *rīti*, which according to him is the soul of poetry. In doing so, he presents, on the one hand, a contrast to Bhāmaha and, on the other hand, he accepts to some extent the views of the author of the *Kāvyādarśa*. In the last *adhyāya* of the first *adhikaraṇa* Vāmana describes the so-called *aṅgas* of the *kāvya*, this matter forming the subject of twenty *sūtras*. Here we find everything mentioned which is to be studied by one who intends to become a *kavi*. The first *adhikaraṇa* winds up with the divisions of poetry. The author then proceeds to present a full account of the *doṣas*. There are three kinds of *doṣas*, viz. *pada-*, *vākya-*, and *vākyārtha-doṣas*. As a pendant of the *doṣas* Vāmana in the following *sūtras* deals exhaustively with the *guṇas*, which are divided into *śabda* (or *bandha*) and *artha-guṇas*. The whole fourth *adhikaraṇa* gives the doctrine of both *śabda-* and *artha-alaṃkāras*, the last being regarded as mere subdivisions of the main figure : *upamā*. After the example of Bhāmaha the work closes with the

doctrine of poetic conventions (*kāvya-samaya*) and of the correctness of words (*śabda-śodhana*).

With respect to Udbhaṭa, it is a matter of regret that only his *Kāvyālaṃkāra-sāra-saṃgraha* has been edited[17], which work is closely connected with the poetics of Bhāmaha, as is already suggested by the title. The six books of the work consist of the treatment of the *śabda-* and *arthālaṃkāras*. Udbhaṭa wrote some other works, too, the most important and interesting one being his commentary on Bhāmaha. As a manuscript of it is extant we may hope that it will be published as soon as possible.

A good deal more extensive than the works mentioned before is the *Kāvyālaṃkara* of Rudraṭa[18] bearing (which fact is interesting) the same title as the poetics of *Bhāmaha*. There are many views with regard to the time of that *ālaṃkārika*[19]. Some say that his work was written in the second half of the 11th century A.D., others are inclined to assume that Rudraṭa did not live after the middle of the 9th century while others again would find out that he lived about 950 A.D., At present, we may take it as a matter of fact that he lived about or rather before 850 A.D., because an opinion of his is discussed and

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17 The text is given by Jacob in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London 1897, a great part of the verses also by Trivedi in his notes to Vidyānātha's *Pratāparudrīya* (*Bombay Sanskrit Series* No. 65.).

18 *Kāvyamālā* vol. 2, Bombay 1886.

19 See R. Pischel, Rudraṭa's Śṛṅgâratilaka and Ruyyaka's Sahṛdayalîlâ, Kiel 1886, Introduction.

rejected in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*[20] by the famous Rājaśekhara, who belongs to the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century. We must further bear in mind that the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* of Rudraṭa, though dealing with the whole matter of poetry, does not say one word with respect to the doctrine of *dhvani*, which is discussed fully in the *Dhvanyāloka* and which is referred to in all later works on poetics. Since the *Dhvanyāloka* was written about the middle of the 9th century, the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* cannot be placed after that time.

The work of Rudraṭa is one of the more difficult books on *alaṃkāra*. It consists of sixteen *adhyāyas*, composed in the *āryā*-metre. After a short introduction, the author speaks of the effect of good poetry and goes on to deal with all a *kavi* should know. The second book begins with the definition of *kāvya* (as the union of word and sense, *śabda* and *artha*). With this we have an indication of nearly the whole *Kāvyālaṃkāra*. Rudraṭa intends to discuss first the nature and qualities of the word (*śabda*) and then those of the the sense (*artha*). With regard to the noun, Rudraṭa, after some general remarks on the word, discriminates between two kinds, compound and non-compound, this division being a highly important one because thereupon are based the differences of the *rīti*. Then the author defines the *vākya* which, on the one hand, may be divided into prose (*gadya*) and metre (*chandogata*) and, on the other, into further divisions according to the language in which the *kāvya* is written. The remaining chapters discuss the *śabdālaṃkāras*, the

20 *Adhyāya* 7, p. 31.

*śabdadoṣas* and the *vākyadoṣas.* The first part of the definition of *kāvya* being herewith completed, Rudraṭa takes up the second part, *artha.* Under this heading there is presented a full description of *arthālaṃkāras,* which are to be regarded from four different standpoints,viz. *vāstava, aupamya, atiśaya,* and *śleṣa.* This treatment of the matter seems to have some connection with a similar opinion of Vāmana, for we may remember that this *ālaṃkārika* regards all the the figures of speech from the point of view of *aupamya.* Then the *artha-doṣas* are described and especially that of *upamā.* The doctrine of the *rasas,* which really had its place in dramatic poetry—for the persons of the drama show in fact all shades of sentiments and the reflection of most inner feelings—and which, as a matter of consequence, has never been treated in fulness by the older *ālaṃkārikas* Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana, and Udbhaṭa, takes up much room in the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* of Rudraṭa. Among the *rasas* the *śṛṅgāra-rasa* is treated exhaustively, and the doctrine of the *nāyaka* and the *nāyikā* and the like is discussed at length. The last book of Rudraṭa's deals with the various kinds of literary compositions (*prabandha*).

Comparing the *alaṃkāra-śāstra* of Rudraṭa with those of his predecessors it must be confessed that he has endeavoured to present new ideas. Though many subjects he treats of are spoken of for the first time by him and though he has given new shapes to old views, Rudraṭa must be regarded as belonging to the older school of the *alaṃkāra-śāstra.* As a matter of fact he is entirely untouched by the doc-

trine of the *dhvani*, which was gaining a great influence upon the further development of poetics.

This aesthetic criticism was brought into a system by the author of the Dhvanyāloka about the middle of the 9th century A.D. [21]. It is now settled as a fact that Ānandavardnana is the author of the *vṛtti* only, and not also of the *kārikās* [21a]. That the doctrine of the *dhvani*, however, had in some way or other been treated already before the time of the *Dhvanyāloka*, may be gathered from the words of the author himself. There is, however, little doubt that in dealing with the new views and developing them at length, the Dhāvanikāra and Ānandavardhna of Kashmir played the chief part. The idea is this: poetry is of value only when the matter the poet wishes to deal with is presented to the hearer by mere suggestion; simple description of events in plain terms has nothing to do with poetry. In one word, the unspoken is the

21 The text is edited in *Kāvyamālā* No. 25, Bombay 1891. Translated into German by H. Jacobi, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 56 and 57, 1902-03, Ānandavardhana's name (Ānanda) is quoted in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara, p. 16 (*pratibhāvyutpattyoḥ pratibhā śreyasī ity Ānandaḥ / sa hi kaver avyutpatti-kṛtaṃ doṣam āśeṣam ācchādayati ; tad āha / avyutpattikṛto doṣaḥ śaktyā saṃvriyate kaveḥ, yas tv aśakti-kṛtas tasya jhaṭity evāvabhāsate.*) See *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 137 (3rd *uddy.*).

21a See also the excellent paper by S. K. Dé: The Text of Kāvyāloka-locana IV. Reprinted from the Journal of the Department of Letters vol. ix. Calcutta University pr. 1923, p. 2 f

essence of poetry. With this idea wrote Kālidāsa and the other great poets long before the real quintessence of poetry was analysed and reasoned out in books on this subject. The correctness of the new idea being acknowledged by all who had a taste for poetics, the doctrine laid down in the *Dhvanyāloka* could not fail to influence all the later works on *alaṃkāra*.

We cannot pursue the theme further here, where we are going to inquire into the development of the ideas as they were presented by the old masters. Though the doctrine of the *dhvani* attained a very great significance for poetic criticism, the older theories are by no means put aside, but they hold their place as constituting the foundation of the *kāvya*.

The big work of Mammaṭa, the *Kāvyaprakāśa*[22], shows clearly the influence that the *dhvani*-doctrine was gaining. Mammaṭa lived in the 11th century. Though his work is written in verse throughout, the expression is as brief and condensed as possible and thus rather bears the character of the *sūtra*-style. We are therefore not surprised that Mammaṭa himself composed a commentary on it[22a].

22 Edited many times in India, e. g. with a great commentary by Bhaṭṭa Vāmanācārya B. R. Jhaḷakīkara, Bombay 1901 (2nd ed.). For an English translation we are indebted to Gaṅgānātha Jhā, Benares 1897-99 (From *Pandit*, Vols. 18-21).

22a There are, however, some doubts about the authorship of the *Kāvyaprakāśa*. See V. Sukthankar, Miscellaneous Notes on Mammaṭa's Kāvyaprakāśa, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 66, p. 477 ff and 533 ff.

The *Kāvyaprakāśa* consists of ten *ullāsas.* The author opens in the same way as his predecessors by pointing out what the effect of good poetry is, and what attributes, besides learning, are to be regarded as necessary for becoming a poet. After that, the definition of the *kāvya* is given, and Mammaṭa turns to the divisions of poetry. Here we meet with the higher criticism of *dhvani.* According to the degree in which the suggested meaning (*dhvani*) prevails there are three kinds of poetry. This question is discussed further, up to the end of the sixth *ullāsa,* starting from the nature of words and ending with the doctrine of *rasa,* which is dealt with from the standpoint of *dhvani.* Then the various kinds of *doṣas* are enumerated, and in connection with this, the views regarding the *guṇas* are criticised. In the ninth and tenth *ullāsas* Mammaṭa treats of the *alaṃkāras,* which in the meanwhile have become a good deal more numerous.

By mentioning Mammaṭa the chronological line of the writers on the *alaṃkāra-śāstra* has been interrupted. The most peculiar feature of the book, however, which I am now presenting to the reader, justifies me in speaking of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* so soon. We have to deal now with a theoretical work of the well-known dramatist R ā j a ś e k h a r a, who lived about 900 A. D. He is younger than Rudraṭa and Ānandavardhana, who are both mentioned by him. The work is entitled *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā.* This highly interesting book, which also gives important information about other matters, is edited as the first volume of the brilliant Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 1919.

The text now published is but a small part of the whole *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, bearing the title *Kavirahasya*. This is evident from Rājaśekhara's own statements, especially in the introductory lines, but since a manuscript of the other parts has not yet been found, we are not quite sure whether the author did not get further than the end of the first *adhikaraṇa*, so that the work must be regarded as incomplete, or whether other parts are unknown, because the manuscripts have not been found or are lost. The copious notes the learned editors of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* have added to the text show that the author has very often referred to older works, both *kāvyas* and *śāstras*.

The style of Rājaśekhara's book differs a good deal from that of his predecessors, the main part being written in simple prose, but not in *sūtra*-form which Vāmana or the Dhvanikāra used. The prose, however, is interrupted by more or less large passages in verse, which, on the one hand, support the ideas presented in the prose-parts, and, on the other, in a more independent way give some further details. Though in dealing with the matter, the author shows a certain raciness of expression and tells plenty of interesting facts, he is in many cases not free from pedantry, particularly in finding out new groups and divisions.

The *Kavirahasya* (as the first *adhikaraṇa* of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* is called) consists of eighteen *adhyāyas* each of them having titles. In the first (*śāstra-saṃgraha*) the various kinds of poetic matters are enumerated. The second *adhyāya* (*śāstranirdeśa*)

shows that there are two kinds of literary composition (*vāṅmaya*), viz., *śāstra* and *kāvya*, the *śāstra* being considered as previous to *kāvya*. With respect to the former, Rājaśekhara gives subdivisions and explanations, speaking of the style of the *śāstra* and of the various forms and designations of commentaries etc. With the next *adhyāya* (*kāvyapuruṣotpatti*) the author begins the principal matter, the doctrine of the *kāvya*. There we are told that the goddess of Speech, Sarasvatī, longing for a son, underwent severe penitential exercises. She, then, bore a son, the Kāvyapuruṣa. Rājaśekhara gives a story of the encounter of Vālmīki, the inventor of the *śloka* and author of the *itihāsa Rāmāyaṇa*, with the lonely wandering Kāvyapuruṣa. In telling this, the author mentions also Dvaipāyana, who was the first to study the *śloka* (invented by Vālmīki) and composed the *saṃhitā Bhārata*, which is said to consist of 100,000 *ślokas*. In course of time the bride of the Kāvyapuruṣa became Sāhityavidyā (vadhū). On account of her wandering through many countries, some poetic forms evolved themselves, the most important among them being the three *rītis*, *Gauḍīyā*, *Pāñcālī*, and *Vaidarbhī*. These stories may be regarded as introductory. In the fourth *adhyāya* (the title of which seems to be incorrect, being the same as that of the sixth chapter, *padavākyaviveka*) goes on to deal with the nature of the *kavi*. The students of *kāvya* are said to have different degrees of understanding. The differentiation appears to have been influenced by a passage in the *Arthaśāstra* of the famous Kauṭilya, whose theories Rājaśekhara sometimes makes use

of also elsewhere. Then the author continues to point out what things are requisite and desirable for everyone who wishes to become a *kavi*. Speaking of the *pratibhā* (the inborn and working fancy of the poet) Rājaśekhara attaches much value to its twofold nature, viz., as *kārayitrī* and *bhāvayitrī*. These remarks show the influence of Vāmana very clearly. Hereafter, in the fifth chapter (*kāvyapāka*), the *vyutpatti* (the literary education) is dealt with. Rājaśekhara describes the relation between *vyutpatti* and *pratibhā*, quotes the views of other authorities (among these also the view of his wife A v a n t i s u n d a r ī), states several groups of the *kavi*, going a good deal into detail, and criticises again and again the theories of his predecessors. The sixth *adhyāya* (*padavākyaviveka*) has the doctrine of *pada* (word) and *vākya* (sentence) as the subject. The definition of poetry (*kāvya*) is presented here. In the next chapter (*pāṭhapratiṣṭhā*) Rājaśekhara discusses the various kinds of expression with respect to the speaker (gods, man, and so on), the language (Sanskrit, Prākrit, Bhūtabhāṣa) being dependant on them. After having mentioned the varieties of *rīti* (*Gauḍīyā*, *Pāñcālī*, *Vaidarbhī*), the author deals with another factor which in his opinion has a peculiar interest, namely recitation, *kāku* or *pāṭha*. As a matter of fact, this passage is a highly important one, because it shows what kind of pronunciation the various peoples of India used. That an opinion of Rudraṭa regarding the same subject is rejected by Rājaśekhara, is of importance with respect to the chronological relation between these two writers on poetics. The mere

title of the eighth *adhyāya* (*kāvyārthayonayaḥ*) calls to mind a certain passage in Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti*. Here we find all matters communicated which are important with regard to the contents of a *kāvya* (*śruti*, *smṛti*, *itihāsa* etc.) It need hardly be mentioned that the author adds some new groups to the old ones, but it must be confessed that in inventing new subdivisions Rājaśekhara here (as well as elsewhere) shows a good deal of overmuch pedantry. The next chapter (*arthavyāpti*) discusses the contents of *kāvya*. The opinion of D r a u h i ṇ i that with respect to the contents there are three kinds, viz, *divya*, *mānuṣa*, and *divyamānuṣa*, is refuted by declaring that seven kinds must be assumed, since *pātālīya*, *martyapātālīya*, and *divyamartyapātālīya* have to be added. Rājaśekhara is careful to illustrate the seven kinds by examples. After having done so, the author gives some explanations of descriptions (of rivers, mountains, towns, separation etc.) enlivened by the *rasas*. A few remarks about the nature of things as they are in reality and as they are represented by the fancy of the poet are of a certain interest. Then Rājaśekhara speaks of two forms regarding the contents, viz. *muktaka* (a single stanza, closed in itself) and *prabandha* (a whole composition); and the chapter ends with another subdivision according to the reality or non-reality of the events the *kavi* describes. The tenth chapter bears the name *kavicaryā rājacaryā ca*, and, at the outset, points out what branches of learning are necessary to know before one is able to compose a *kāvya* : viz, grammar, metrics, dictionaries and

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so on. Besides these, the *kavi* has to know the accessory sciences (*upavidyā*), as e.g., the arts etc. Rājaśekhara does not forget to lay stress on another thing to which the *kavi* must turn his attention: that is the care of the body. In studying these passages, the reader will be rather amused and compensated for many tiresome explanations and divisions, though here also the descriptions bear the stamp of pedantry which exhausts all possibilities in a wearisome manner. "As the *kavi*, so the *kāvya*". Further, the ideal dwelling house of the *kavi* is described in full detail. Many facts mentioned here are of great interest for us in more than one respect. The names of poetesses are given, for instance; but the chapter culminates in a detailed description of the *kavi*-examination held by a committee of men selected for this purpose, who sit or stand in the examination-hall in order of rank. The *adhyāyas* 11 to 18 deal with the borrowing (*haraṇa*) from older poets. The author points out cases in which borrowing is or is not allowed, and goes on to treat all such possible cases. In Rājaśekhara's opinion, *haraṇa* must have been of great importance, since the matter is dealt with in more detail than is agreeable to the reader. The fourteenth and fifteenth chapter (*jātidravyakriyāsamayasthāpanā* and *guṇasamayasthāpanā*) investigate all kinds of poetic licences and customs, which, though not correct in the strict sense, are sanctioned by tradition. Among many other things we find here the well known relations between colours and affections or conditions of mind and the like.

In the next chapter (*svargyapātālīyakavirahasya-sthāpanā*), the author presents some special doctrines for the *svargya* and *pātālīya* poet. The seventeenth *adhyāya* is more interesting and important, because we glean a geography of India from it. The details given here, however, were not unknown even before this discovery of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, for the Jaina monk and polyhistor Hemacandra and another writer on *alaṃkāra*, the younger Vāgbhaṭa, have almost the same *deśavibhāga* included in their works. That both have borrowed from Rājaśekhara we did not know before the latter's work was published. The *Kavirahasya* winds up with the eighteenth *adhyāya* (*kālavibhāga*), which gives a description of the division of time.

We stayed a little longer with Rājaśekhara than with the *ālaṃkārikas* before him. This we did because our author deals with poetics in a rather different way and illustrates matters which are not to be found in the works of his predecessors. Later writers on *alaṃkāra*, Hemacandra and Vāgbhaṭa, have borrowed long passages from Rājaśekhara, often almost *verbatim*.

Of the later writers on poetics only the more important names shall be mentioned here. **Rājānaka Ruyyaka** or **Rucaka**, who lived in the beginning of the twelfth century, has treated only the *alaṃkāras* in his *Alaṃkārasarvasva*. The way Ruyyaka takes up the matter and the exact and correct manner in which he delivers the doctrines of the figures of speech and groups them, show clearly what progress had been made regarding

poetry. The form of expression is somewhat similar to that of Vāmana, or rather to that of the Dhvanikāra: the *sūtra*-text and a commentary on the *sūtras* which, however, is much more exhaustive than the commentary of Vāmana and constitutes really the main part.

The older Vāgbhaṭa, who, like Ruyyaka, also belongs to the beginning of the twelfth century, treats of the whole domain of poetry. His work is entitled *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* and is written in verse throughout. Vāgbhaṭa begins with the definition of the *kāvya* and, thereupon, speaks of the purpose of poetry and the causes of it. After giving a division of the *kāvya*, he presents the doctrines of the *doṣas*, the *guṇas*, the *dhvani*, the *śabda*- and *arthālaṃkāras*, the *rītis*, and the *rasas*. It must be confessed that the importance of Vāgbhaṭa is not great.

The compendium of poetics, the *Kāvyānuśāsana*, of the celebrated Jaina monk, Hemacandra (1088-1172), is a good deal more extensive. He also wrote a great commentary on his own work, the *Kāvyānuśāsanaviveka*. It is a matter of course that Hemacandra could not present original ideas of his own, as he unfolded a somewhat astonishing literary activity. He was a complete master of the knowledge of his time, and had thus in many cases only registered the theories and results his predecessors had found. The sources, however, which Hemacandra used, are partly unknown to us. The discovery of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara has shown that Hemacandra in his commen-

tary has borrowed long passages from it ; but the name of Rājaśekhara is never mentioned. It is possible that other parts of the *Kāvyānuśāsanaviveka* may go back to other books of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* which have not yet been found.

Hemacandra begins in the usual way with the topic of the effect and cause of poetry. The definition of the *kāvya* (*adoṣau saguṇau sālaṃkārau ca śabdārthau kāvyam*) indicates at the same time the mode of his treatment of different topics. It is explained what *guṇa*, *doṣa*, and *alaṃkāra* are, and it is pointed out in which way these ideas are connected with the *rasa*. For, though the *rasa* is a factor of immense importance, it is not mentioned at all in the definition of poetry, because in the opinion of Hemacandra the *kāvya* as consisting of word and sense (*śabdārtha*) is sanctioned by tradition. The author then presents an account of the doctrine of the word, in course of which the *dhvani* doctrine is touched on, apparently under the influence of the *Kāvyaprakāśa.* Hereafter the *rasa,* and then all kinds of *doṣas* (*rasa-*, *pada-*, *vākya-*, *padavākya-* and *artha-doṣas*) are characterised. The description of the *guṇas,* of which only three are mentioned, also shows among many other things the influence of Mammaṭa. The *śabda-* and *arthālaṃkāras* are detailed in the fifth and the sixth book respectively. This is followed by the doctrine of the *nāyaka* (hero) and his female counterpart, the *nāyikā* (heroine). The division of the *kāvya* forms the last part of Hemacandra's work.

In the 13th century Vāgbhaṭa the

younger—the older Vāgbhaṭa has been mentioned above—composed a work on poetics. In his own commentary on his work, Vāgbhaṭa is influenced also by Rājaśekhara. Vāgbhaṭa's book, though a very large one, is of no great importance. New ideas are scarcely given. In the beginning are discussed the very well known question about the effects and the causes of poetry and the definition of the *kāvya*, which discussion takes the same form as that of Vāgbhaṭa's predecessors. Before illustrating the various parts of the definition, the author speaks of the divisions of poetry. The second and third *adhyāya* contain the doctrine of the *doṣas* (*śabda-*, *vākya-*, *artha-doṣas*), of the *guṇas* (the number of which is given as ten, after Daṇḍin), of the *artha-* and *śabda-alaṃkāras*. There are 62 *arthālaṃkāras*, while Hemacandra deals with only 29. The absence of *doṣas* and the presence of *guṇas* and *alaṃkāras* form the body (*śarīra*) of the *kāvya*, its soul (*prāṇa*) being the *rasas*, which are detailed in the fifth *adhyāya*.

After this succinct account of more the important representatives of Indian writers on poetics[23],

23 A complete account of all *ālaṃkārikas* (with the exception of Rājaśekhara, whose work was not discovered then) is given by Hari Chand in his book : *Kālidāsa et l'Art poétique de l'Inde*, Paris 1917. There the reader will find further details with respect to the less important writers on poetic matters and the time they lived in. A work very often referred to is the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* of Bhojarāja (about the middle of the 11th century A. D.). It is, however, a mere compilation and, therefore, is of very small interest. Bhojarāja has

let us now deal with the historical development of the theoretical foundations of Indian poetry and see in what manner old and simple ideas are changed in course of time. We shall consider in the following pages the effects of good poetry and the causes of it, and shall gain an idea of the qualities which the poet should possess. After this, the various attempts to define the *kāvya* will be illustrated, and then the general position of the *alaṃkāra* will be touched on. A further question is : what is to be considered as the soul of the *kāvya* ? A large space will be taken up by the doctrine of the so-called *rītis* and the *guṇas* (though not the whole theory of *guṇas*) closely connected with these. Finally, we must treat of the division of the *kāvya*. In this chapter we shall meet with important questions, which in more than one respect are of the greatest interest.

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borrowed long passages from Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*. Another author of the same time, K ṣ e m e n d r a, wrote two works on the *alaṃkāraśāstra* the *Aucityavicāracarcā* and the *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*, which last title reminds one of the work of Bhojarāja. The value of these works is not great. On account of its clearness of description the *Candrāloka* of J a y a d e v a is highly valued in India. The author lived in the 13th century and also wrote a drama, the *Prasannarāghava*. The works of V i d y ā d h a r a and V i d y ā n ā t h a (about 1300 A. D.) : the *Ekāvalī* and the *Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa*, both edited in the *Bombay Sanskrit Series*, Nos. 63 and 65, are also of some importance. J a g a n n ā t h a (17th century) whose *Rasagaṅgādhara*, though incomplete, takes the first place among all the works of the preceding centuries on account of his independent and original researches, belongs to the modern eriod.

# THE EFFECT OF POETRY

Before entering on the discussion of the *kāvya* itself there are some things of a more general character which the writers on *alaṃkāra* deal with in an introductory way. When anything is to be undertaken, it is asked what effects and what causes may be connected with it. The oldest author, B h ā m a h a, treats the question of the effects of good poetry in connection with the question about the qualities of the poet. Not to disturb the context, the verses of Bhāmaha in question will be given when we speak of the *kavi*. Here we can therefore be short.

B h ā m a h a says I,2 :

dharmārthakāmamokṣeṣu vaicakṣaṇyaṃ kalāsu ca /
prītiṃ karoti kīrtiṃ ca sādhukāvyanibandhanam //

"The composition of a good *kāvya* presents cleverness in (the *caturvarga*, i.e.) right, wealth, love and liberation, and in the arts, and (presents further) pleasure and fame."

D a ṇ ḍ i n sees the matter from another point of view, declaring in *Kāvyādarśa* I, 3-6

iha śiṣṭānuśiṣṭānāṃ śiṣṭānām api sarvathā /
vācām eva prasādena lokayātrā pravartate //
idam andhaṃ tamaḥ kṛtsnaṃ jāyeta bhuvanatrayam /
yadi śabdāhvayaṃ jyotir āsaṃsāraṃ na dīpyate //
ādirājayaśobimbam ādarśaṃ prāpya vāṅmayam /
teṣām asaṃnidhāne 'pi na svayaṃ paśya naśyati //
gaur gauḥ kāmadughā samyak prayuktā smaryate ciram /
duṣprayuktā punar gotvaṃ prayoktuḥ saiva śaṃsati //

"By the favour of words, as well of those which are taught by the grammarians (Sanskrit and Prakrit) as of the others[1] (the various dialects which are not expressly taught by the scholars), business *in the world is prospering.*

"If the light, called word, did not shine into this existence, then these three worlds would be in complete darkness.

"The idol of fame of the first kings, which manifests itself through the mirror of words, does never vanish even when (the kings) have passed away.

"Well-composed speech is called a cow, which grants every desired object; but composed in a bad way, speech manifests only the ox-nature of the composer[2]."

Daṇḍin states the relation between the *kāvya* and the fame of the king as follows. According to him, the main purpose of a poem is to narrate and praise the life and deeds of the king, the *kavi* being thus, generally, a court poet.

Vāmana appears to depend on Bhāmaha, saying in *Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti* I. 1. 5 :

Kāvyaṃ saddṛṣṭādṛṣṭārthaṃ prītikīrtihetutvāt.

"Because the *kāvya* is the cause of pleasure and fame, its effect is (twofold) : to be seen and not to be seen."

Pleasure is visible, but fame is not visible, as

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1 Premacandra has a second interpretation of the word *śiṣṭa : svataḥ śiṣṭānāṃ saṃjñārūpāṇām.* But the first appears to be the better.

2 Premacandra : *gotvaṃ vṛṣabhatvaṃ mūrkhatvam-ityarthaḥ.*

it manifests itself mostly after the poet has passed away. Fame, however, stands higher than pleasure, as Vāmana points out in the following verses :

"The merit of composing a *kāvya* is considered as an uninterrupted road (leading) to fame. The ridiculousness of being a bad *kavi* is said to be a way to shame.[3]

"The learned ones designate fame as something leading to heaven in the end, shame, on the other hand, as leading to the places of hell. To attain fame and to avoid shame, the "king-poets" ought to study the contents of (this) *Kāvyālaṃkāra* thoroughly."

The matter in question is dealt with in a much more detailed way by R u d r a ṭ a , whose words run thus (*Kāvyālaṃkāra* I. 5-13) :

"When in course of time the temples etc., erected by the kings are fallen to decay, then even the names (of the kings) would not remain, if the kings had no good poets.

"Does not a person render a good service to another by displaying his fame, which will last for ever and will be pure and faultless and desirable for all the world ?

"And the learned ones[4], who have studied the highest things, agree with each other in stating that to bestow benefits on a person is of quite a special merit.

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3. Compare *Raghuvaṃśa* I. 3: *mandaḥ kaviyaśaḥprārthī gamiṣyāmy upahāsyatām.*

4. *Vādinaḥ.* Or should it be translated : " men, who in other cases dispute with each other, agree in this matter ... " ?

That is the very idea of which Daṇḍin has spoken : the *kavi* par excellence is the court poet of the king, and the king must bear in mind what the poet may become to him ! But besides that, the blessings of good poetry are evident also with respect to other things :

"The poet who has composed beautiful panegyrics of the gods attains wealth, liberation from evils, fortune beyond measure, in short, all he may desire.

"So some poets by praising Durgā have crossed (the stream of) misfortune which is hard to do ; others have turned away sickness ; others again have got a much-longed-for gift.

"The gods who have fulfilled the poet's wishes as a reward for the panegyrics are the same even to this day, though the kings have changed.

"Yet, why shall I say much ? Who in the world may be enabled to comprehend to which high degree the *kāvya*, this ocean with its jewels, brilliant excellences (the poem is filled with), becomes the cause of eminent fame ?"

In the next verses Rudraṭa varies the words of Bhāmaha :

"Therefore the wise ones, who wish to gain a full success in the (four) manifestations of human life (*dharma, artha, kāma, mokṣa*) may compose a *kāvya* as faultless as possible after having studied what is necessary for it.

"For, the fine formation of speech derived from the acknowledged *śāstras* (dealing with the correct formation) of word and sentence, is the fruit oj

the learned ones and well-formed speech,on the other hand, matures a splendid *kāvya*."

Mammaṭa's statements about this matter may be quoted, as they contain some interesting details. *Kāvyaprakāśa* 1-2:

Kāvyaṃ yaśase 'rthakṛte vyavahāravide śivetarakṣataye,
sadyaḥ paranirvṛtaye kāntāsammitatayopadeśayuje.

The *vṛtti* thereon runs thus :

"The composition of a *kāvya* leads to fame, to wealth, to understanding of all worldly business, to removal of all sorts of evils, to immediate or later pleasure joined with an instruction similar to that, which may be given by a beloved woman[5])."

"Fame, as in the case of Kālidāsa and others, wealth in the case of Dhāvaka etc. from king Harṣa, understanding of all wordly business for kings etc., removal of all sorts of evils, as in the case of Māyūra etc. from the Sun etc. The crown, however, of all is the complete pleasure, which is caused by the taste of *rasa* and which takes away all other sentiments."

The last words show that no little progress has been made in judging poetry: the last cause, why a good *kāvya* is a course of untroubled joy and pleasure, is the *rasa*, the poetic sentiment, which is the strong quintessence of all poetry. Regarding the matter from this point of view Mammaṭa continues to show in which respect poetry differs from other kinds of literary compositions:

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5 This stanza is quoted by Mallinātha in the beginning of his commentaries to the five *mahākāvyas*.

"By the fact that in the *kāvya* word and sense (*śabdārtha*) recede into the background, the unfolding of the single parts of the *rasa* is placed into the foreground. Thereby the *kāvya* differs, on the one hand, from the sciences as *Veda* etc., where the word forms the main part, like the (command) of a king (*prabhu-sammita*), and, on the other, differs from the mere narrative literature as the *Purāṇas* etc., where the main part is the sense, in the manner of (an instruction) from a friend (*suhṛt-sammita*). Thus, the *kāvya* is the work of a poet who is skilled in presenting a matter in a manner that goes far beyond the common way. As a beloved woman by means of her graceful attraction (*rasa*) gains (her lover's) interest (and so may get from him what she wishes), in the same way the *kāvya* presents instruction in a fitting manner both for the poet and the knowing ones (the hearers of the *kāvya*), an instruction similar to that of Rāma and not to that of Rāvaṇa. Therefore one should use the utmost endeavour with respect to the *kāvya*."[6]

Mammaṭa here gives a few more details about the matter in question than his predecessors did, regarding poetry from a higher standpoint. The ideas he speaks of in a certain degree belong already to the question as to the real nature of poetry and to the definition of the *kāvya*.

6 The *Ekāvalī*, which generally is based on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, has borrowed these similes from Mammaṭa in the verses I, 3-6.

## THE CAUSES OF THE KAVYA AND THE POET

Scholars agree, as we have seen, that a good *kāvya* produces many desirable effects for both the author and the hearer. They agree also that these effects can only be expected from the composition of a good *kāvya*. Thus, the question of the *kāvyaphala* (effects of poetry) is connected with that of the *kāvyakaraṇa* (causes of poetry). In other words, how should the poet (*kavi*) be? Going into the treatment of this matter it cannot be avoided to take up some things here which strictly speaking belong to the preceding chapter, where the effects of poetry were spoken of, but Bhāmaha does not, as mentioned before, separate *kāvyaphala* and *kāvyakaraṇa* strictly.

Right at the beginning of his work he says (I, 3-5):

" What liberality is to the poor, what skill (in using weapons) is to the coward, what cleverness is to the ignorant, that very same is knowledge of the *śāstra* to a man who is no *kavi* (by nature).

What is wealth without good conduct, what is night without the moon, what is ability in speech without being a good *kavi*.[1]

'Even the untalented ones are able to study the *śāstra* with the aid of the instruction of the teacher,

1 This stanza (Bhāmaha i, 4) is quoted as an example for the *arthālaṃkāra Vinokti* in Ruyyaka's *Alaṃkārasarvasva* p. 83.

but the *kāvya* can be composed only by a man who possesses the *pratibhā* (the working genius)".

Not everybody has the art of producing literary compositions, and one who is not endowed with it by nature can never learn it by studying the *śāstra*. The innate genius is called *pratibhā*, verbatim the 'beaming of the ideas.'

On this occasion Bhāmaha speaks of the effects of good poetry (I, 6-8):

"Even when those who have produced a good literary composition go to heaven, their body, which consists of the *kāvya*, remains pure and pleasent (on the earth).

And as long as the poet's fame, everlasting, fills heaven and earth, so long the poet, who has done good work, attains the celestial abode.

One who, therefore, longs for fame that will last as long as the world will remain, may endeavour to compose a *kāvya* after having studied all that the *kavi* should know."

There is no doubt that the genius is the conditio sine qua non for the poet; but there are, on the other hand, some other things not less necessary. Bhāmaha deals with them in the verses 9-11:

śabdaś chando' bhidhānārthā itihāsāśrayāḥ kathāḥ,
loko yuktiḥ kalāś ceti mantavyāḥ kāvyayonayaḥ[2].
śabdābhidheye vijñāya kṛtvā tadvidupāsanām,
vilokyānyanibandhāṃś ca kāryaḥ kāvyakriyādaraḥ.

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2 With respect to the text of this verse, the end of which is not given in the edition of Bhāmaha, see the notes to Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* p. 8. The first line is found in the *Dhvanyālokalocana* p, 10.

sarvathā padaṃ apy ekaṃ na nigādyam avadyavat,
vilakṣmaṇā hi kāvyena duḥsuteneva nindyate.

"(The doctrine of the) word,[3] metre, sense of the words,[4] stories which are based on the *itihāsas*, the (knowledge of) world (ly affairs), suitability,[5] and the arts, all these are held to be the foundations of the *kāvya*.

After having made oneself acquainted with (the doctrine of) word and sense, after having devoted oneself to the teaching of the masters who know that, and finally, after having studied the compositions of other poets one should endeavour to make a *kāvya*.

One should never utter a word which contains something blamable, for on account of a *kāvya* that shows bad features one is blamed as on account of a bad son."

Bhāmaha is very hard on the bad poet (I-12):

"The fact that a man is no *kavi* does not implicate his *dharma*-lessness, his illness, or even his

3 The doctrine of the word is the grammar (*śabdānu śāsana*); see Vāmana I, 3, 4.

4 The author apparently means the knowledge of the dictionaries; cf., below, Vāmana I, 3, 5: *abhidhānakośāt padārthaniścayaḥ*. An interpretation different from this is presented by Udbhaṭa in his (not yet edited) commentary to Bhāmaha (Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 405, note 2): *śabdānām abhidhānam adhivyāpāro mukhyo guṇavṛttiś ca*. Trivedi remarks: Should it not be explained as *abhidhānam abhidhāvyāpāraḥ upalakṣaṇam idam tena lakṣaṇavyañjanayor api grahaṇam ity arthaḥ*? For Bhāmaha is not *dhvanyabhāvavādī*, one who does not believe in the existence of the suggested meaning."

5 Then things are to be considered in a suitable way.

punishment. But the state of a bad poet is called the embodied death itself by the knowing ones."

The postulate which are laid down by Bhāmaha are taken up by D a ṇ ḍ i n, only a little more pregnantly. We read in *kāvyādarśa* 1-103 :

naisargikī ca pratibhā śrutaṃ ca bahu nirmalam,
amandaś cābhiyogo'syāḥ kāraṇaṃ kāvyasampadaḥ

"Innate talent, great and profound scholarship,[6] uninterrupted practice[7] are the cause of that success of the *kāvya*."

In the next verses, however, Daṇḍin proceeds to contradict his predecessor in an important point. In the opinion of Bhāmaha the *pratibhā* (genius) is a necessary condition without which a *kāvya* can by no means be composed. Daṇḍin denies this statement altogether by declaring I, 104, 105:

"If there is not to be found the wonderful genius, which is connected with impressions from preceding births, then, notwithstanding, the *vāc* (Goddess of Speech) presents some favour, when worshipped by scholarship and effort.

Therefore those who strive for fame should put aside idleness and continually and intensively serve the Goddess of Speech. Even if there is but small talent for poetry a man who shows energy can enjoy

6 The vṛtti runs: bahu anekaṃ chandovyākaraṇakoṣakalācaturvargagajaturagakhaḍgādilakṣaṇātmakam ity arthaḥ. Nirmalaṃ sadupadeśena niḥsandehamadhigatya samyakpariśīlitam ity arthaḥ. Premacandra has taken the first part from the commentary of the *Kāvyaprakāśa*.

7 Commentary: *kāvyajñopadeśena paunaḥpunyena pravṛttiḥ.*

himself in the company of the learned ones."

These statements illustrate very lucidly the manner of Daṇḍin's polemic against Bhāmaha. Also with respect to things about which there should not be a doubt and which are ackowledged by all the later writers on *alaṃkāra* the author of the *Kāvyādarśa* presents a view opposite to that of Bhāmaha. This oppostion seems to have its last reason in some personal dislike against a rival.

The matter is treated much more exhaustively by Vāmana. His words are not without a certain originality. General reflections about the *kavi* open the second *adhyāya* of the first book. Vāmana knows two sorts of poets:

arocakinaḥ satṛṇābhyavahāriṇaś ca kavayaḥ

"There are poets who suffer from want of appetite and there are poets who eat even grass."[8]

As the *vṛtti* explains, these terms are used in a metaphorical sense.[9] The first group of poets is very difficult to please in all that appertains to poetics. Composing a *kāvya* they proceed with the greatest diligence. They discriminate accurately be-

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8 In Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* these words are attributed to an author Maṅgala by name. We read (p. 14): *"te ca dvidhā' rocakinaḥ satṛṇābhyavahāriṇaś ca" iti Maṅgalaḥ.* "kavayo' pi bhavanti" iti Vāmanīyāḥ. . . . . "tatra *vivekinaḥ pūrve tadviparītās tu tatonantarāḥ" iti Vāmanīyāḥ.* Nothing is known with regard to this Maṅgala, nor can I find his name in any of the works of the ālaṃkārikas. Two verses of his are quoted in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, p. 290, as is shown by the editor of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā.*

9 arocakisatṛṇābhyavahāriśabdau gaṇārthau.

tween what is fit and what is not fit. The second group, on the other hand, does not differentiate good from bad. In other words: the one is *vivekin*, and the other *avivekin* (discriminating and not discriminating).[10] Only the former class of poets are worth being instructed on account of their being endowed with the ability of discriminating (I, 2, 2: *pūrve śisyā vivekitvāt*), whilst the other should not be instructed, because they cannot discriminate (I. 2, 3: *netare tadviparyayāt*).[11] The *śāstra* is not made for all: for the second group of poets it will be of no advantage (I, 2, 4: *na śāstram adravyeṣu arthavat*), as the nut which is employed for clarifying muddy water is by no means able to clarify a swamp (I, 2, 5: *na katakaṃ paṅkaprasādanāya*).[12]

The so-called *kāvyakaraṇa* is the subject of the third *adhyāya* of the same book. We meet the same subjects which are with but slight variations dealt with by all *ālaṃkārikas*. Vāmana calls them *kāvyāṅgas*. There are, he says, three *kāvyāṅgas*: the world

10 ko' sāv arthaḥ? vivekitvam avivekitvam iti.

11 tadviparyayād avivecanaśīlatvāt.

12 With the nut of the *kataka* tree the sides of vessels were rubbed, by which procedure the unclean elements of the water were said to segregate on the sides. Cf. Manu vi, 67:

phalaṃ katakavṛkṣasya yady apy ambuprasāda-
kam, na nāmagrahaṇād eva tasya vāri prasīdati.

Kālidāsa mentions the *kataka* nut in a simile in his *Mālavikāgnimitra* II. 8:

mando' py amandatām eti saṃsargeṇa vipaścitaḥ,
paṅkacchidaḥ phalasyeva nikaṣeṇāvilaṃ payaḥ.

It is often spoken of, too, in the works on medicine.

(*loka*), the sciences (*vidyās*), and matters of various kinds (*prakīrṇa*).

It need not be proved that the stories told in the poem must be probable or possible, that they must agree with the rules valid for this world (I, 3, 2: *lokavṛttaṃ lokaḥ*).

Then, the poet must possess the knowledge of the sciences, which are enumerated in I, 3, 3:

śabdasmṛtyabhidhānakośacchandovicitikalākāmaśāstradaṇḍanītipurvā vidyāḥ.

"These are the sciences: grammar, dictionary, prosody, the doctrines of the arts, the doctrine of love, the doctrine of politics, and others."

*Śabdasmṛti* is identical with *vyākaraṇa*. From the grammar the poet learns the correctness of speech (4: *śabdasmṛteḥ śabdaśuddhiḥ*).[13]

The dictionary gives security with regard to the sense (5: *abhidhānakośāt padārthaniścayaḥ*).

The doctrine of prosody takes away the doubts which arise regarding metre (6: *chandoviciter vṛttasaṃśayacchedaḥ*).[14]

The *kalāśāstras* give information about the arts (7: *kalāśāstrebhyaḥ kalātattvasya saṃvit*).The *vṛtti* mentions singing (*gīta*), dancing (*nṛtya*), painting

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13 *śabdasmṛteḥ vyākaraṇāt śabdānāṃ śuddhiḥ śādhutvaniścayaḥ kartavyaḥ.*

14 In the *Kāvyādarśa* (I. 12) and the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* the term prosody is also rendered by the word *chandoviciti*, and in other works one will find the same. Therefore the hypothesis, according to which the term *chandoviciti* in the *Kāvyādarśa* does not denote prosody generally, but a work thereon, composed by Daṇḍin, is incorrect.

(*citra*). Apparantly there existed compendiums with regard to the arts referred to.

From the *kāmaśāstra* one gets the knowledge of the usages respecting love (8: *kāmaśāstrataḥ kāmopacārasya* [*saṃvit*]).

The compendium of politics which by the *vṛtti* is named *arthaśāstra*[15] shows in which cases the sixfold way in foreign affairs should be adopted or avoided (9: *daṇḍanīter nayāpanayayoḥ* [*samvit*]).[16] The knowledge of the *arthaśāstra* is of importance, because the intrigues of the plot are founded upon it.[17]

In I, 3, 11 we are told which matters are included in the subject *prakīrṇa.*

"(Under) Miscellaneous matters (must be understood) knowledge of examples, practice, reverence for the masters, careful examination, talent, and close attention."

Knowledge of examples is intimate acquaintance with the already existing *kāvyas* (12: *tatra kāvyaparicayo lakṣyajñatvam*).[18]

15 The *Arthaśāstra* by Kauṭilya is very likely meant.

16 tatra ṣāḍguṇyasya yathāvat prayogo nayaḥ tadviparīto' panayaḥ nahi tāv avijñāya nāyakapratināyakayor vṛttaṃ śakyaṃ kāvye nibandhum.

17 Vṛttiḥ: itihāsādiḥ itivṛttaṃ kāvyaśarīraṃ tasya kuṭilatvaṃ tato daṇḍanīteḥ ābalīyasādiprayogavyutpattimūlatvāt tasyāḥ.—This, in the first place, is valid for the drama, but it has already been mentioned before that the theories of the drama were to a great extent transferred to the *kāvya* in the widest sense of the word.

18 anyeṣāṃ kāvyeṣu paricayo lakṣyajñatvam. tato hi kāvyabandhasya vyutpattir bhavati.

*Abhiyoga* is the practice which is to be gained if one, by way of trial, composes *kāvyas*, or, at least, fragments of a *kāvya* (13: *kāvyabandhodyamo' bhiyogaḥ*).

Reverence for the masters is the willing obedience to the teachers, when they give instruction with regard to *kāvya* (14: *kāvyopadeśaguruśuśrūṣaṇaṃ vṛddhasevā*).

*Avekṣaṇa* is the exact examination, whether a certain word should be used or not (15: *padādhānoddharaṇam avekṣaṇm*).

In commenting upon this *sūtra* Vāmana also mentions another term, *kāvyapāka* which is of more importance than appears at first sight. The author says:

" As long as the mind is uncertain, (the process of) taking or avoiding (of words) exists: but when a word is absolutly fixed, then speech is complete.

When the words have come to that state that they no longer admit of being altered, then this is called Ripeness of words by those who are expert in the employment of words (in compositions)."[19]

Vāmana mentions *kāvyapāka* a second time, at the end of the third *adhikaraṇa*, which contains the definition of the *guṇas*. He quotes three verses (*atra ślokāḥ*); the first two are the following:

"When the *guṇas* are entirely clear, one speaks of ripeness of the *kāvya*; and it is compared with the ripeness of the mango.

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19 This is quoted in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* with some variations. See below.

A *kāvya* which is endowed with correctly formed nouns and verbs, but where the *guṇas* of the sense are bad, is like the ripe *vṛntāka* fruit: people dislike it."

This ripeness of *kāvya* we will meet again later on, when we deal with what Rajaśekhara has to say on the nature of the poet. Here we only wish to draw attention to the fact that *kāvyapāka* is never mentioned in one of Vāmana's *sūtras*, but only in the verses of the commentary. It is a matter of interest that the *vṛtti* goes a good deal farther than the explanation of the *sūtras* requires.

Talent is the germ of poetry (16 : *kavitvabījaṃ pratibhānam*). This *pratibhāna* (which, of course, is identical with the *pratibhā* of Bhāmaha) is an inborn talent and a mental impression, the last cause of which lies in a former existence. With regard to this definition Vāmana appears to be influenced by *Kāvyādarśa* II, 104. Without the *pratibhāna* literary composition cannot be produced, or, if a man nevertheless tries to do so, the effect will only be ridiculous.[20]

By *avadhāna* the attention is meant which is directed to the one and only end, the faultless perfection of a *kāvya* (17: *cittaikāgryam avadhānam*).[21]

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20 kavitvasya bījaṃ kavitvabījam. janmāntarāgatasaṃskāraviśeṣaḥ kaścit. yasmād vinā kāvyaṃ na niṣpadyate niṣpannam vāvahāsāyatanaṃ syāt.

21 cittasyaikāgryaṃ bāhyārthanivṛttiḥ tad avadhānam. avahitaṃ hi cittam arthān paśyati. Cf. Kāvyamīmāṃsā p. 11: manasa ekāgratā samādhiḥ. samāhitaṃ cittam arthān paśyati.

To these definitions the following *sūtras* give some supplementary explanations, which are of some interest on account of their originality: Vāmana declares that the perfect attention depends on two things: place and time (18: *tad* [*avadhānam*] *deśakālābhyām*). The most suitable way for the composition of a *kāvya* is to do it in loneliness (19: *vivikto deśaḥ*), the most suitable time is the fourth (the last) part of the night (20: *rātriyāmas turīyaḥ kālaḥ*), that is according to our idea, the early morning. The commentary *Kāmadhenu* refers to a couple of passages in the *kāvyas*: Kālidāsa says in *Raghuvaṃśa* xvii, 1:

paścimād yāminīyāmāt prasādam iva cetanā,

and Māgha in *Śiśupālavadha* II. 6:

gahanam apararātraprāptabuddhiprasādāḥ,
kavaya iva mahīpāś cintayanty arthajātam.

Comparing the words of Vāmana with those of his predecessors it appears that the author depends on Bhāmaha. This one, however, is new, namely, that the points the knowledge of which is necesseary for the poet are considered under three headings: *loka*, *vidyā*, and *prakīrṇa*. This subdivision, however, is by no means good, for the most important point, the *pratibhāna*, which should be named in the first place, is enumerated under the miscellanea, as if it were something subordinate, though Vāmana himself holds the *pratibhā* to be the very germ of poetry. We need not be astonished that this division of Vāmana's is not referred to in later works on *alaṃkāra*.

The various points are, as mentioned before, for

the greater part the same as those which Bhāmaha considered necessary to anyone who wishes to become a good *kavi*. Bhāmaha had also taught that the poet must be familiar with wordly business (*loka*); that knowledge of the grammar (Bhāmaha : *śabda*, Vāmana : *śabdasmṛti*), of dictionaries (*abhidhānārtha*, *abhidhānakośa*), of prosody (*chandas*, *chandoviciti*), of the arts (*kalā*) must be assumed for the *kavi*. The sciences of love (*kāmaśāstra*) and of politics (*daṇḍanīti*, or, as it is called in the *vṛtti*, *arthaśāstra*) are added by Vāmana. Among the points mentioned under the title *prakīrṇa* Vāmana's *lakṣyajñatva* corresponds to Bhāmaha's *vilokyānyanibandhān*; *abhiyoga* to *kāvyakriyādaraḥ*; *vṛddhasevā* to *kṛtvā tadvidupāsanām*; *avekṣaṇa* to the idea expressed by Bhāmaha in I, 11. *Pratibhāna* is the same as *pratibhā*. Knowing very well that poetry is only possible when there is *pratibhā*, Bhāmaha opens his discussions with this point. Though Vāmana is of the same opinion with regard to *pratibhā*, because he calls it the germ of poetry, he mentions this most important factor only by the way, as it were, under the title of *prakīrṇa*. The *avadhāna*, which Vāmana then speaks of is not mentioned by Bhāmaha, but it is not very different from *avekṣaṇa*. On the other hand, we do not find Bhāmaha's *yukti* nor his *itihāsāśrayāḥ kathāḥ* in Vāmana's *sūtra*, which last subject is of still more importance. In the *vṛtti* to *sūtra* 10, however, these *kathās* are considered by Vāmana as *kāvyaśarīra*; so they are not, strictly speaking, a *kāraṇa* for the poet, but for the foundations of the *kāvya* itself.

The ideas of Vāmana only rarely met with acknowledgment by the later writers on poetics, who more or less dealt with the matter in a way similar to Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. Udbhaṭa in his book on the *alaṃkāras* has no occasion to touch this fundamental question, but Rudraṭa refers to the *Kāvyādarśa*, when he declares in the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* I, 14;

tasyāsāranirāsāt sāragrahaṇāc ca cāruṇaḥ karaṇe,
tritayam idaṃ vyāpriyate śaktir vyutpattir abhyāsaḥ.

"To avoid the unbeautiful and to take the beautiful there must be these three things for the compositions of a good (*kāvya*): talent, scholarship, and practice."

These terms *śakti*, *vyutpatti*, and *abhyāsa* are apparently chosen only for the reason that he does not wish to copy Daṇḍin verbatim.

In I, 15 we are informed as to what must be understood by *śakti*:

manasi sadā susamādhini visphuraṇam anekadhābhidheyasya,
akliṣṭāni padāni ca vibhānti yasyām asau śaktiḥ.

"When in a well-concentrated mind many ways, ideas, and words, which are not worn out, spring forth, it is called *śakti*."

Thus *śakti* is but another word for *pratibhā*, which is used in the *Kāvyādarśa*. It seems, however, that Rudraṭa in the term *śakti* includes a little more than the mere *pratibhā*, or poetical talent, namely also some thing contained in '*śruta*', for *śakti* does not refer only to the idea or the sense (*abhidheya*) which the poet whishes to express, but also to the bearer of the idea, the word. That in this con-

nection *pada* is synonymous with *śabda* and does not mean the sentence (*vākya*) is shown by its standing in contrast to *adhidheya*. In the following stanzas the quality of *śakti* is illustrated:

pratibhety aparair uditā sahajotpādyā ca sā dvidhā bhavati,
puṃsā saha jātatvād anayos tu jyāyasī sahajā.
svasyāsau saṃskāre param aparam mṛgayate yato hetum,
utpādyā tu kathaṃcid vyutpattyā janyate parayā.

"The *śakti*, named by others as *pratibhā*, is twofold; innate and to be acquired. Among these two sorts the innate (*śakti*) is the better one on account of its being produced together with the man.

For that (innate *śakti*) only seeks for its further accomplishment another cause; but the second *śakti* is with some difficulty to be produced only by the highest accomplishment itself."

Thereby the author wishes to say that the innate *śakti*, though through the *saṃskāra* existing as such, must yet undergo in some way or another a certain development from outside, if it is to be useful for the special purpose of composing a *kāvya*. This is in accordance with the above stated fact that in Rudraṭa's *śakti* something which strictly belongs to the term '*śruta*' is already contained. The second kind of *śakti*, on the other hand, being not yet in existence, must be produced and has thus to seek a primary cause.

Apparently the mode of Rudraṭa's treatment of the *śakti* is an attampt to remove the inaccuracy with which the *pratibhā* is dealt with in the *Kāvyādarśa*. The *naisargikī pratibhā* of Daṇḍin is of course the same as the *sahajā śakti* of Rudraṭa, and

cannot thus be substituted by another element as is done in the *Kāvyādarśa* I. 104, 105. Thus the *sahajā śakti* is set in contrast by Rudraṭa to the *utpādya śakti.* Strictly speaking, however, Rudraṭa is no more right than Daṇḍin. The matter in question is treated in a satisfactory way only by Bhāmaha. *Vyutpatti* is thus defined by Rudraṭa, I, 18; 19:

" *Vyutpatti*, in the more limited sense, is the correct distinction between what is suitable and what is not suitable, on account of the knowledge of prosody, grammar, the arts, worldly business, the word, and the sense of the word.

But in the wider sense, is there anything to be found in the world at all, whether that should be expressed (the word), which may not become an element of the *kāvya* ? Therefore this (*vyutpatti* in the wider sense) is the knowledge of everything."

Only an illustration, not a definition, is given with regard to the third question, the *abhyāsa*;[22] I. 20:

"A learned and talented man should, after having studied all branches of human understanding, under the guidance of a good poet and an expert man continually, by day and night, practise (the composition of) the kāvya."

As Rudraṭa is wholly influenced by his predecessors, so also Mammaṭa presents no new ideas in saying.

" Talent (*śakti*), exprience (*nipuṇatā*) with respect to the world, the *śāstra*, the *kāvyas*, etc., and practice (*abhyāsa*) based upon the instruction (by a teacher) who is expert in the *kāvya*, are the (three) causes for a *kāvya*"

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22 Namisādhu: abhyāso lokaprasiddha eva.

*Śakti,* which term is apparently taken from the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* of Rudraṭa, is again identified with Bhāmaha's *pratibhā.* It may be considered, says the author in the commentary, as the germ of *kavitva,* without which nobody is able to compose a *kāvya,* if he does not wish to produce something to be laughed at[23]. This last note Mammaṭa has borrowed from Vāmana[24].

*Nipuṇatā* comprises the knowledge of all the poet should understand, as the business of the world, prosody, grammar, the dictionary, the arts, the so-called *caturvarga* (*dharma, artha, kāma, mokṣa*), the *śāstras,* which deal with elephants, horses, chariots, weapons etc. Finally one must be well acquainted with the *kāvyas* already in existence[25].

Supposing he is in possession of both *śakti* and *nipuṇatā,* the disciple has, under the direction of a well-versed teacher, to practise composing *kāvyas.*

To show in which way the later *ālaṃkārikas* vary old and sanctioned ideas, the definitions and explanations of the older Vāgbhaṭa (12th century) may be given (*Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* I, 3ff).

"The (innate) fancy (*pratibhā*) is the cause of the *kāvya,* scholarship (*vyutpatti*) (is) its ornament, and practice (*abhyāsa*) causes productiveness, so the first *kavis* have said."

23 Mammaṭa says in his commentary: śaktiḥ kavitvabījarūpaḥ saṃskāraviśeṣaḥ yaṃ vinā kāvyaṃ na prasaret prasṛtaṃ vā upahasanīyaṃ syāt. 24 Cf. above p. 52.

25 lokasya sthāvarajaṅgamātmakalokavṛttasya śāstrāṇāṃ chandovyākaraṇābhidhānakośakalācaturvargagajaturagakhaḍgādilakṣaṇagranthānāṃ kāvyānāṃ ca mahākavinibandhānām.

(PRATIBHĀ)

"The (innate) fancy of the good poet, which lets the use of clear[26] words be well understood and gives birth to a new tenor, is called *pratibhā* which is all pervading."

(VYUTPATTI)

"The unique, tradition-based knowledge of the system, of words, of (the *trivarga*) *dharma*[27], *artha*, and *kāma*, of politics[28], of love, etc., is named *vyutpatti*."

(ABHYĀSA)

"The assiduous devotion, which by the aid of the teachers is to be manifested with respect to the arrangement of a *kāvya*, is called *abhyāsa*. A way whereby one can come to it will now be told.

With a series of words which (by form) sustains the beauty of the structure, but has not yet any (new) tenor, one can make oneself acquainted with all sorts of metre with the view of employing them in the *kāvya*.

Through combinations (of sounds) one should form a length at the end of the word, one should not suppress the *visargas*, one should avoid bad *sandhis*; these are the ways which produce the beauty of the structure."

The making of heavy vowels by conjuncture with the following word perfects, says the commentary, a stability of the structure and the *visargas* produce the *guṇa* called *ojas*.

26 The commentary explains *prasanna* by *akliṣṭa*.

27 Commentary: dharmaśāstram āgamaḥ.

28 Commentary: arthaśāstraṃ Cāṇakyapraṇīto rājanītigranthaḥ.

Vāgbhaṭa gives the following examples:

śite kṛpāṇe vidhṛte tvayā ghore raṇe kṛte,
nradhīśa kṣitipā bhītyā vana eva gatā javāt.

"O king, when in the horrible battle you draw your sword, then the enemies run from fear quickly into the forest."

There we have the above mentioned faults: the words stand there one by one, so that the structure becomes very loose. The harshness can be avoided, if the poet would produce heavy syllables by contractions. Further the *visarga* in *kṣitipā* is suppressed. If it were not, (by placing after *kṣitipā* another word than *bhītyā*) then the *guṇa ojas*, in this very case of a peculiar effect, would be taking place. Finally a bad (though no false) *sandhi* lies in *nradhīśa*,

Now Vāgbhaṭa speaks of the tenor:

"If the construction of a new tenor will not succeed because the pupil does not possess enough experience as yet, he should endeavour also in the conversations to become able to find out a new tenor,"[29]

After having illustrated this statement with an example, the author touches the question of borrowing from other poets.

"Forming the poetical combination of the tenor of the compositions of other poets may be (some sort of) exercise. It is, however, not very fair, because the poet thereby becomes a thief.

29 arthasaṃkalanātattvam arthasya abhidheyasya saṃkalanātattvaṃ saṃghaṭanārahasyaṃ padyabandhavidhilakṣaṇaṃ saṃkathāsv api parasparālāpesv apy abhyasyet.

Only in the *samasyā*[30] the borrowing from other *kāvyas* becomes a merit rather for the poet, for then he produces a new tenor, which combines with the tenor of the (prior poem)."

To some other things, which are of advantage to the poet, the author draws attention in the next stanza :

manaḥprasattiḥ pratibhā prātaḥkālo' bhiyogitā,
anekaśāstradarśitvam ity arthālokahetavaḥ.

"Clearness of mind, fancy, early morning, practice, acquaintance with the numerous *śāstras*: these are the causes for finding the tenor."

The term *prātaḥkāla* shows the influence of Vāmana, but with the exception of that the old trinity *pratibhā*, *vyutpatti*, and *abhyāsa* is preserved, the words *vyutpatti* and *abhyāsa* being taken, probably, from the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* of Rudraṭa.

Rājaśekhara deals very exhaustively with the matter in question in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā.* Only some of his ideas can be stated here. According to him there are two sorts of disciples: the *buddhimat* and the *āhāryabuddhi.* These terms appear to have been borrowed from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*[31]. The *buddhimat* is a man whose mind of itself follows the *śāstra* (*yasya nisargataḥ śāstram anudhāvati buddhiḥ saḥ buddhimān*), whilst the *buddhi* of the *āhāryabuddhi* is educated by the occupation with the *śāstra* (*yasya ca śāstrābhyāsaḥ saṃskurute buddhim asāv*

30 A sort of poetry where the poet has to complete a stanza the beginning of which is given.

31 I,17: buddhimān āhāryabuddhir,
durbuddhir iti punaraviśeṣaḥ,

*āhāryabuddhiḥ*). The buddhi is of three kinds: referring to *smṛti* (remembrance of past things), to *mati* (understanding of present things), and to *prajñā* (knowledge of future things). This threefold *buddhi* is the helper (*upakartrī*) of the *kavi*. The main peculiarity of both the *buddhimat* and the *āhārya-buddhi* is the devotion to a good teacher (*sugurūpāsanā*).

When anyone composes a *kāvya*, then, in the opinion of Śyāmadeva,[33] says Rājaśekhara, the poet's *samādhi* i.e. the concentration of the mind of one subject (*ekāgratā*) begins to work, but according to Maṅgala[34] the *abhyāsa*, or uninterrupted practice must be considered as the chief requisite for the poet. *Abhyāsa* is defined as *avicchedena śīlanam*. The author of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* replies that *samādhi* is the interior and *abhyāsa* the exterior effort, and that these two together bring the *śakti* (the active power) into prominence (*udbhāsayataḥ*), and this *śakti* is the sole source of poetry.

Then the author explains the relation between *śakti* on the one, and *pratibhā* and *vyutpatti* on the other hand. The two functions, or objects of *pratibhā* and *vyutpatti*, have the *śakti* as their agens or subject[34]). In other words: only if there is *śakti*,

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śiṣymāṇo dharmārthāv upalabhate
cānutiṣṭhati ca buddhimān.
upalabhamāno nānutiṣṭhaty āhāryabuddiḥ,
apāyanityo dharmārthaveṣī ceti durbuddhiḥ.

32 Nothing is known about this writer on *alaṃkāra*.

33 Another unknown *ālaṃkārika*.

34 śaktikartṛke hi pratibhāvyutpattikarmaṇī.

*pratibhā*, and *vyutpatti* then a *kāvya* can be produced[35]. From this it becomes clear that in the opinion of Rājaśekhara *śakti* and *pratibhā* are two quite different things and not synonyms, as is the case in Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṃkāra*, and this idea of Rājaśekhara seems to be a new one[36].

The author defines the *pratibhā* as follows:

"*Pratibhā* is the (agens) which in a pleasant way makes the richness in words, the affluence of sense, the system of *alaṃkāras*, the diction, and other things of this kind appear."

For anybody who does not possess *pratibhā* the richness in words becomes invisible, but for the man who is endowed with it word and sense stand before his very eyes, as it were, even if he be blind[37]. The great poets, too, do not only see the things of this world about them, but with their intellectual eye see other countries, other continents, and are enabled to describe the deeds of the heroes of *kathās*. Then follow some illustrations taken from Kālidāsa's works[38]).

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35 The author says *śaktasya pratibhā śaktaśca vyutpadyate.*

36 That the term *śakti* was employed also by other scholars beside Rudraṭa as a synonym of *pratibhā* is said by Rājaśekhara himself, on p. 16 of his work. After having quoted a stanza from the *Dhvanyāloka*, where *śakti* means "genius," the author says: *śaktiśaktaś cāyam upacaritaḥ pratibhāne vartate*: "the word *śakti* is here used metaphorically for *pratibhāna*."

37 As in the case of Medhāvirudra (without doubt the famous writer on poetics, who is referred to already by Bhāmaha) and Kumāradāsa (*yato Medhāvirudra-Kumāradāsādayo jātyandhāḥ kavayaḥ śrūyante*).

38 Rājaśekhara illustrates *deśāntaravyavahāra*, *dvīpāntaravyavahāra*, *kathāpuruṣavyavahāra*; he gives another ex-

*Pratibhā* has a twofold aspect, being *kārayitrī* and *bhāvayitrī*. This division though not be found in any of the older *ālaṃkārika's* works, must have been discussed in a similar way before Rājaśekhara, as the author in his further explanations mentions the views of other scholars, among whom *Śyāmadeva* is quoted by name.

The former term (*kārayitrī*) can be translated by "creative," but it is difficult to find an English equivlent as regards the latter. We may render it provisionally by "discriminative"[39]. This classification implies a difference between *kavitva* and *bhāvikatva*[40]).

Regarding the former kind of *pratibhā*, Rājaśekhara says (p. 12: *kaver upakurvāṇā kārayitrī*) "the creative *pratibhā* helps the poet." It helps the poet when occupied with the composition of the kāvya, its structure, its embellishment, and every thing which is connected with it. *Kārayitrī*, then, refers to the outer part of the work. This *pratibhā*

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ample to illustrate the *ādi* of *deśadvīpāntarakathāpuruṣādi*. The examples are respectively from *Śakuntalā* VII, 42; *Raghuvaṃśa* VI, 57; *Kumārasaṃbhava* III, 67; *Raghuvaṃśa* VI. 82.

39 This is the rendering by Dr. De, who has been kind enough to give me very valuable explanations concerning Rājaśekhara's treatment of *Kārayitrī* and *bhāvayitrī*, in a letter dated Nov. 23rd 1922.

40 Dr. De draws my attention to the fact, that this distinction (*Kavitva* and *bhāvakatva*) has a resemblance to that between Imagination and Fancy made by the early 19th century Romantic critics in England. Consequently the terms *Kārayitrī* and *bhāvayitrī* can also be rendered by "imaginative" and "fanciful."

is also threefold: *sahajā* (innate), *āhāryā* (to be grasped), and *aupadeśikī* (to be taught). The first comes from another existence and has need of only small cultivation in the present birth; the second is based, too, on former existence, but requires great cultivation in the present existence and becomes manifest by practice in this birth; the third can be acquired only by instruction from *mantra* and *tantra* etc., in this world[41]. It need not be pointed out that Vāmana's and Daṇḍin's ideas turn up here, though not in the old form, because also the *bhāvayitrī pratibhā* was meant by those scholars.

With reference to this trinity Rājaśekhara declares that there are three sorts of poets (*kavi*), who are called *sārasvata*, *ābhāsaka*, and *aupadeśika*. This trinity, again, refers to the above described three kinds of *kavi*, viz. *buddhimat*, *āhāryabuddhimat*, and *durbuddhi*. It is evident that the *sārasvatakavi* is the best poet.

The latter kind of *pratibhā* is called *bhāvayitrī*, with regard to which *Rājaśekhara* says:

bhāvakasyopakurvāṇā bhāvayitrī. sā hi kaveḥ śramam abhiprāyaṃ ca bhāvayati.

"The discriminative *pratibhā* helps the discrimination, for it brings into effect the poet's effort and intention."

In other words, this *pratibhā* helps the poet's

41 Janmāntarasaṃskārāpekṣiṇī sahajā, janmasaṃskārayonirāhāryā, mantratanatrādyupadeśaprabhavā aupadeśikī. aihikena kiyatāpi saṃskāreṇa prathamāṃ tāṃ sahajeti vyapadiśanti, mahatā punarāhāryā. aupadeśikyāḥ punar aihika eva upadeśkālaḥ, aihika eva saṃskārakālaḥ.

thinking, imagination, or intention[42], whilst the former helps him in the act of composing the *kāvya*. *Kārayitrī*, then, refers to the outer part of the work, whilst *bhāvayitrī* has nothing to do with outward forms, whatever they may be, but creates the inner value of the poem from within. "Through this *bhāvayitrī pratibhā*," the author continues, "the poet's tree of work becomes fruitful, otherwise it would be barren."[43].

There are, however, some scholars who do not acknowledge the distinction between *kārayitrī* and *bhāvayitrī*, because the *kavi* is a *bhāvaka*, and the *bhāvaka* is a *kavi*;[44] and they say:

pratibhātāratamyena pratiṣṭhā bhuvi bhūridhā,
bhāvakas tu kaviḥ prāyo na bhajaty adhamāṃ daśām.

"In the world stability (of fame) is of many kinds according to the degree of *pratibhā*. The *bhāvaka*, however, being a poet, generally does not occupy an inferior position."

"No, says Kālidāsa, the state of a *bhāvaka* is different from the state of a *kavi*, and the state of a *kavi* from the state of a *bhāvaka*, on account of a difference in their nature as well as their scope. It is said:

One is able to compose words (a *kāvya*), the other only to hear them. Your intelligence, fortunate in both cases, makes us wonder. For, in one object there are not met with all excellent qualities toge-

42 It produces the "Sohanen," as the German term would be.

43 tayā khalu phalitaḥ kaver vyāpāratarur anyathā so vakeśī syāt.

44 Dr. De would prefer *bhāvuka* instead of *bhāvaka*

ther: one stone produces the gold, the other is able to test it."

After having pointed out that the *bhāvaka* need not necessarily be a *kavi* at the same time, and that therefore a strict distinction between both *kavi* and *bhāvaka* should be made Rājaśekara goes on to deal with the *bhāvaka*. He says:

"The (*bhāvakas*) are of two kinds, those who suffer from want of appetite (*arocakinaḥ*), and those who eat even grass (*satṛṇābhyavahāriṇaḥ*), says Maṅgala. The *kavis*, too, says Vāmana. The (*bhāvakas*) are really of four kinds, says Yāyāvara, because they are *matsarin* (envious) and *tattvābhiniveśin* (turning the mind to the truth) besides."

Then *matsarins* are rare, but the *tattvābhiniveśins* are much rarer still. We shall, however, not treat the matter further here, as these statements of Rājaśekhara are of no great importance, being nothing more than some enlargements of the above described ideas of Vāmana.

After having dealt with the most important postulate for the *kavi*, the twofold *pratibhā*, Rājaśekhara continues the subject in the fifth *adhyāya* by speaking of *vyutpatti*.

The masters have said, the author begins, that *vyutpatti* is the state of one who knows many things (*bahujñatā*). According to *Rājaśekhara*, however, *vyutpatti* is the exact discrimination between what is suitable and what is not suitable (*ucitānucitaviveka*).

Now there arises the question: is *pratibhā* or *vyutpatti* the better? In the opinion of Ānanda[45]

45 Ānandavardhana. It is the only case where he is

it is *pratibhā*, because it hides a fault which may spring from the poet's non-*vyutpatti*, and:

avyutpattikṛto doṣaḥ śaktyā saṃvriyate kaveḥ,
yas tv aśaktikṛtas tasya jhag ity evāvbhāsate[46].

"A fault of the poet arisen from his non-*vyutpatti* is concealed by (the poet's) *śakti*[47]; But a fault which is caused by the poet's non-*śakti* is obvious at first sight."

Maṅgala, on the contrary, holds *vyutpatti* to be better, because *vyutpatti* wholly conceals a fault which the poet makes by not possessing *pratibhā*. Rājaśekhara endeavours to reconciliate these contrary views by declaring that both *pratibhā* and *vyutpatti* must come together, and, when united, are both better (*pratibhāvyutpattī mithaḥ samavete śreyasyau*).

After this brilliant "correction" of the masters' view Rājaśekhara pursues the subject a little further: One who is endowed with *pratibhā* and *vyutpatti* is called "*kavi*", and there are three sorts of *kavi*: *śāstrakavi*, *kāvyakavi*, and *ubhayakavi*. According to the opinion of Śyāmadeva, the *kāvyakavi* is better than the *śāstrakavi*, and *ubhayakavi* better

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referred to by name by Rājaśekhara, and is important as regards chronology.

46 *Dhvanyālokalocana*, *uddyota* iii to verse 6 (p. 137 in the edition of *Kāvyamālā* No. 25).

avyutpattikṛto doṣaḥ śaktyā saṃvriyate kaveḥ,
yas tv aśaktikṛtas tasya sa jhaṭity avabhāsate.

By the quotation of this stanza under the name of Ānanda (vardhana) every doubt about the authorship of the *vṛtti* is set aside.

47 The term *śakti* is used here in the sense of *pratibhāna*. Rājaśekhara says: *śaktiśabdaś cāyam upacaritaḥ pratibhāne varttate.*

than both *śāstra-* and *kāvyakavi*, which Rājaśekhara denies, saying that in their own domain everyone of the three must be considered as the better, "as the *rājahaṃsa* is not qualified to drink the beams of the moon nor the *cakora* to distinguish milk from water." The *śāstrakavi*, according to his special education in the *śāstras*, "tears asunder (*vicchinatti*)" the plenty of *rasa* in the *kāvya*, whilst the *kāvyakavi* "loosens" the sense by the splendour (*vaicitrya*) of the diction (*ukti*), even if it is hardly to be understood by logic. The *ubhayakavi*, as a matter of course, is better than the two others, supposing that he is well versed both in *śāstra* and *kāvya*, and, consequently, *śāstra-* and *kāvyakavi* help one to the other. The author warns against being partial[48].

Regarding the two sorts of kavi: *śāstra-* and *kāvyakavi*, Rājaśekhara goes still farther, making divisions of both. This division is of no great interest and shows more the author's pedantry than any progress in poetical matters. While the *śāstrakavi* is threefold (the first composes a *śāstra*, the second arranges a *kāvya* in the *śāstras*, and the third puts down the sense or tenor of the *śāstra* on the *kāvya*) there are eight groups of the *kāvyakavi* : 1st. the *racanākavi*; he attends especially to the sounds. 2nd. the *śabdakavi*; of whom again there are three sorts, viz. the *nāmakavi*, the *ākhyātakavi* and the *nāmākhyātakavi*, who chiefly employ nouns, or verbs, or nouns and verbs respectively. 3rd. the *arthakavi*; he is

48 yac chāstrasaṃskāraḥ kāvyam anugṛhṇāti śāstraikapravaṇatā tu nigṛhṇāti, kavyasaṃskāro' pi śāstravākyapākam anuruṇaddhi Kāvyaikaprayaṇatā tu viruṇaddhi.

devoted to the manifoldness of sense. 4th. the *alaṃkārakavi* (two sorts); he likes to show *śabda-* and *arthālaṃkāras*. 5th. the *uktikavi*; he demonstrates elegance of expression. 6th. the *rasakavi*; his strength lies in the *rasa*. 7th. the *mārgakavi*; he respects peculiarly the styles (*rīti*). 8th. the *śāstrakavi*; he manifests cleverness in scholarly matters. It need not be said that these divisions have scarcely any value in themselves, and therefore we will not give the examples the author quotes to illustrate the different kinds of poets. The sorts of poet named above are again divided into three kinds, the *kanīyas*, the *madhyama*, and the *mahākavi* according to whether they use only two or three, about five, or all *guṇas*. The author then speaks of the ten conditions of the *kavi*, but we will not pursue the matter further here[49].

Finally Rājaśekhara mentions *abhyāsa*, but mainly to deal with another subject, the *pāka*. He says that on account of practice (*abhyāsa*) the good poet's speech becomes "ripe (*pāka*)"[50]. As to the definition of *pāka* there are different views (Maṅgala calls it *pariṇāma*, and *pariṇāma* is in his opinon the correctness regarding nouns and verbs[51]). This, however, is not right. This last is identical with

49 Under these new classes we find a *mahākavi* again, and besides him a *kavirāja*.

50 Satatam abhyāsavaśataḥ sukaveḥ vākyaṃ pākam āyāti.

51 "Kaḥ punar ayaṃ pariṇāmaḥ" ity ācāryāḥ, "Supāṃ tiṅāṃ ca śravaḥ saiṣā vyutpattiḥ. The term *śrava* is a little strange. Is it the hearing of the (correctly formed) nouns and verbs?

*sauśabdya*[52]. According to other scholars *pāka* is a firmness in the employment of the words (*padaniveśaniṣkampatā*). Here Rājaśekhara quotes a stanza which we find in Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti* 1, 3, 15[53]. Then the author mentions a similar opinion of the school of Vāmana (*Vāmanīyāḥ*), and quotes the second verse in the *vṛtti* to Vāmana 1, 3, 15[54]. This, however, is also not correct, because this sort of *pāka* according to Avantisundarī (Rājaśekhara's wife) is nothing else than *aśakti*.

In the opinion of Rājaśekhara's wife ripeness exists in such cases, where the very same subject is expressed in many ways and illustrated by the *mahākavis*. In other words, when a poetical composition is endowed with the *rasa*, then indeed, it is *pāka*[55]. *Pāka* therefore is far from being a quality of words, its province is rather the sense or the idea, or, still better, the way the sense communicates itself to the hearer. Rājaśekhara renders the view of his wife in the following lines:

"This is in my opinion ripeness of expression (*vākyapāka*) whereby the *guṇas*, the *alaṃkāras*, the

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52 Bhāmaha I, 14. 53 See above p. 51.

54 "āgrahaparigrahād api padasthairyaparyavasāyas tasmāt padānāṃ parivṛttivaimukyaṃ pākaḥ" iti Vāmanīyāḥ. tadāhuḥ, yatpadāni tyajanty eva parivṛttisahiṣṇutāṃ, taṃ śabdanyāyaniṣṇātāḥ śabdapākaṃ pracakṣate.

The first part of this passage appears not to be a verbal quotation from Vāmana's work (where it is not to be found), but a mere rendering of the meaning of the quoted stanza.

55 Yad ekasmin vastuni mahākavīnām aneko' pi pāṭhaḥ paripākavān bhavati tasmād rasocitaśabdārthasūktinibandhanaḥ pākaḥ.

style, the diction, word, and sense together become tasteful to the learned ones."

The author also quotes a stanza from Vāmana's work, which here, however, is presented in another context, viz. the *Vaidarbha rīti* (to I, 2, 11):

"There may be a speaker, there may be (good) sense, there may be (a usage of words which is correct according to) grammar, without this (*pāka*, as Rājaśekhara means)[56] the honey of speech will not flow."

According to the view of Rājaśekhara himself *pāka* is primarily conveyed by words, and hence taken as *śabdavyutpatti* or *sauśabdya* ; is chiefly the province of *abhidhā*; yet it finds its scope only in *artha* or the idea, which is established by the appreciation of the men of taste[57].

After that there follows an enumeration of nine defferent kinds of *pāka*, which we will not describe.

As regards the poet there are also many other theories mentioned and founded by Rājaśekhara. It is, however, not possible to describe all these things here ; only a few of them I may be allowed to refer to. They are given in the tenth *adhyāya*, the name of which is *kavicaryā rājacaryā ca.*

After having carefully studied the sciences (*vidyā*, viz. nouns and verbs, lexicography, prosody, and the doctrine of the *alaṃkāras*) and their accessories (*upavidyā*, viz. the sixty-four arts), one should en-

56 In the context of the verse in Vāmana's book we must understand "without the *Vaidarbhī rīti.*" See p. 135.

57 "Kāryānumeyatā yat tac chabdanivedyaḥ paraṃ pāko 'bhidhāviṣayas tat sahṛdayaprasiddhisiddha eva vayavahārāṅgam asau " iti Yāyāvarīyaḥ.

deavour to compose a *kāvya*. Some other things are designated the mothers of the *kāvya* (*kāvya-mātaraḥ*), which are the presence of a good poet, news from (or about) the country (*deśavārtā*), the speeches of the learned ones, the course of worldly life, the meetings of the wise ones, and the compositions of the old poets. The author quotes a stanza, according to which eight things are considered as the mothers of *kavi*-ship: Well-being (*svāsthya*), fancy (*pratibhā*), practice (*abhyāsa*), devotion to the *gurus* (*bhakti*), the tales of the wise ones (*vidvat-kathā*), wide scholarship (*bahuśrutatā*), good memory (*smṛtidārḍhya*), and self-reliance (*anirveda*[58]).

Further, the poet should be pure. There are three kinds of purity: of the speech, (*vākśauca*), of the mind (*manaḥśauca*), and of the body (*kāyaśauca*). The first two have their origin in the *śāstras*. Regarding the purity of the body the author presents the following particulars: the poet should pare the nails of his feet; he should chew *tāmbūla* (a leaf of piperbetel) after meals[59]; he should anoint the body; his garment should be splendid though not excessively so; in his hair there should be flowers; in other words, he should be a perfect gentleman.

58 Some of these things are dealt with by the author on another occasion being considered there from a different point of view.

59 Rājaśekhara says only *satāmbūlaṃ mukham*, but the meaning is apparently as rendered above. Compare a stanza in the 7th *ullāsa* of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* (verse 180):

tāmbūlabhṛtagallo' yaṃ bhallaṃ jalpati mānuṣaḥ,
karoti khādanaṃ pānaṃ sadaiva tu yathā tathā.

As to his abode Rājaśekhara gives a full description as it should be: it is well cleansed; has rooms fit for every one of the six seasons; its garden preserved by the trees from heat, has a little pleasure-hill, lakes, and ponds, *haṃsas*, *cakoras*, a bath-room, a pavilion, a palanquin, etc. etc.

The persons who are in this ideal dwelling place must, of course, be endowed with certain qualities in order to support the working poet: there should be a solitary place, where the poet can stay quite alone and undisturbed by anybody's presence. His attendants are skilled in *Apabhraṃśa*, his female servants speak a dialect mixed with *Māghadhī*, the ladies of his harem speak Sanskrit and Prakrit, and his friends all languages. His writer is skilled in all languages, too, and has some other excellent qualities, he should be himself a poet. The master of the house is, of course, setting the fashion also with regard to particulars concerning pronunciation and the like[60].

Writing material must be close at the poet's hand. According to the masters there are the "retinue" of the science of *kāvya*. No, retorts Rājaśekhara, *pratibhā* is the "retinue."

60 The author narrates some anecdotes: Śiśunāga, King of the *magadhas*, had prohibited the use of cerebrals with the exception of *ṇ*, and of *ś*, *ṣ*, *s* and of *kṣ*. King Kuvinda of the *Śūrasenas* did the same with respect to harsh groups of consonants. King Sātavāhana of the *Kuntalas* and King Sāhasāṅka in *Ujjayinī* gave order to speak only Prakrit or Sanskrit respectively. Regarding Sātavāhana and Sāhasāṅka compare *Kāmasūtra* II, 7, 28 and *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* II, 15.

After some other remarks, which will be touched on elsewhere, the author speaks of the division of time. As we have seen, Vāmana has also dealt with this question, but Rājaśekhara goes much more into detail. The poet should rise early in the morning and, after having performed *Sandhyā*, he should read the *Śārasvatasūkta*. Then he may, if he likes, stay in the academy (*vidyāvasatha*) and study the sciences and their accesories some three hours or so (*ā praharāt*). The second *āyāma* should be devoted to the composition of the *kāvya*. About noon he should bathe and eat what is not forbidden. After dinner he may hold a meeting where questions concerning the *kāvya* are discussed (*kāvyagoṣṭhī*). The occupation in the third *āyāma* are of various kinds. In the fourth *ayāma* the poet should hold an examination of that part of the *kāvya* he has written before noon, in the presence of some learned persons, and correct and amend what is considered as being less good. In the evening he may again worship *Sandhyā* and *Sarasvatī*. By the beginning of the night (*ā pradoṣāt*) he should write down the corrected *kāvya*. After having slept well in the first and second part of the night he should rise very early, i. e. during the fourth part on the night, for early in the morning the mind sees things very clearly. This subject is treated a good deal longer still by Rājaśekhara, but we shall not pursue it further here.

Not only the men but also the women should endeavour to compose *kāvya*, because the *saṃsāra*, which is the working cause, is based not on the sexual difference but rather on the *ātman*, or the soul, if

we are allowed to render the word in this way. There have been daughters of kings and ministers, courtezans, etc. who have understood the *śāstra* and have become poetesses[61].

Omitting some other remarks, which are more amusing than important, we shall deal with a more interesting subject not mentioned by any of the former representatives of the *alaṃkāraśastra* in a few words: the examination of the *kavi*. The king-poet (*rājakaviḥ*) should arrange a *kavi*-meeting. In order to examine a *kāvya* or a *śāstra* he must have a hall built, with sixteen pillars, four doors, and eight turrets, and a pleasure house (*keligṛha*), which should be attached to the hall. In the middle of the hall there should be a *vedikā* one *hasta* high and the floor should be adorned with jewels. During the examination the king sits on this throne. To the north of him the Sanskrit poets take their seats, behind them are the Veda-learned (*vedavidyāvid*), the logicians (*prāmāṇika*), the *Purāṇa*-scholars (*paurāṇika*), the scholars in the domain of *smṛti* (*smārta*), the physicians (*bhiṣaj*), the astrologers (*mauhūrtika*), and the like. To the north of him there sit the Prakrit poets, and behind them the dancers (*nartaka*), actors (*naṭa*), singers (*gāyana*), musicians (*vādaka*), *vāgjīvanas*, *kuśīlavas*, *tālāvacaras*, who appear to have been certain groups of bards. To the west of him there come the Apabhraṃśa poets; behind them the painters (*citralekhakṛt*), jewel-setters and similar

61 Compare *Kāmasūtra* I, 3, 12: Santy api Khalu śāstraprahatabuddhayo gaṇikā rājaputryo mahāmātraduhitaraś ca.

classes (*māṇikyabandhaka*, *vaikaṭika*, *svarṇakāravardhakilohakāra*); and to the south of him the Bhūtabhāṣa poets, behind them paramours, (*bhujaṃga*), courtezans (*gaṇikā*), rope-dancers (*plavaka*), *śaubhikas*[62], wrestlers (*malla*), and soldiers (*śastropajivin*).

Then the king opens the discussion and examines the *kāvya*. In doing so he should emulate the famous "presidents" of older times, as Vāsudeva, Sātavāhana, Śūdraka, Sāhasāṅka. He should honour the poets according to their merits. In the great cities the king should establish similar committees (*brahmasabhā*) in order to have *kāvyas* and *śāstras* examined. Whosoever has undergone this *parīkṣā* should be driven in a particular carriage (*brahmaratha*) and crowned with a diadem. Rājaśekhara closes this unique chapter with the following verses, speaking of *kāvya*-examinations in *Ujjayinī* and *śāstra*-examinations in *Pāṭaliputra*.

Śrūyate cojjayinyāṃ kāvyakāraparīkṣā—
iha Kālidāsa-Menṭhāv atr-Āmara-Rūpa-Sūra-Bhāravayaḥ,
Haricandra-Candraguptau parīkṣitāv iha viśālāyām.
Śrūyate ca Paṭaliputre śāstrakāraparīkṣā—
atr-Opavarsa-Varsāv iha Paṇini-Piṅgalāv iha Vyāḍiḥ,
Vararuci-Patañjalī iha parīkṣitāḥ khyātim upajagmuḥ.
itthaṃ sabhāpatir bhutvā yaḥ kāvyāni parīkṣate,
yaśas tasya jagadvyāpi sa sukhī tatra tatra ca[63].

This is, however, only a pretty story, not fact.

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62 Concerning the *śaubhikas* see Prof. H. Lueders' very interesting paper in Sitzungsber. d. Kgl. Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss., philos.-hist. Kl., 1916, pp. 698ff. The passage is borrowed to a great extent from the *Arthaśāstra*, where we read (p. 125): naṭanartakavāgjīvanakuśīlavaplavakasaubhikacāraṇānāṃ............sarvatālāvacārāṇāṃ ca.

63 With respect to these poets, see the remarks of the editors of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* on p. 10, 11 (Notes).

# THE DEFINITION OF KĀVYA

No exact definition of *kāvya* has been found by the older Indian writers on poetics. Only in more recent times scholars have shown that what is said by the older writers cannot be considered as the essential matter of poetry.

Bhāmaha defines I, 16 :

śabdārthau sahitau kāvyam.

Word and sense combined (is) the *kāvya*".[1]

Daṇḍin says a little more (*Kāvyādarśa* I, 10) :

taiḥ śarīram ca kāvyānām alaṃkārās ca darśitāḥ,
śarīraṃ tāvad iṣṭārthavyavacchinnā padāvalī.

"By these (the older scholars) the body and the ornaments of the *kāvyas* have been pointed out. With respect to the body it consists of a series of words, qualified by the sense which (the poet) wishes to express".

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1 It has already been mentioned before that Kālidāsa in *Raghuvaṃśa* I, 1 appears to refer to such a definition of the *kāvya*. Nothing, however, can be gathered from this fact, because that or a similar definition was common for a very long time. We get no correct idea of Bhāmaha's opinion on the *kāvya*, if by the unjustified combination of Bhāmaha I, 16 with 1, 30 we construct the following definition ***sabdārthau sahitau kāvyaṃ yuktam vakrasvabhāvoktyā***. This is done by Sovani in a paper on pre-dhvani schools of *Alaṃkāra* (*Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 395). Prof. Jacobi (Sitzungsber. d. preuss. AK. d. Wiss., 1922, p. 224) thinks that the term *Sāhitya* ('poetry') is to be derived from that definition of *kāvya*.

This definition shows some progress when compared with the simple statement of Bhāmaha that the *kāvya* is word and sense together, without any further explanation concerning the qualification of both *śabda* and *artha*. Daṇḍin distinguishes at first between two things which are quite different from each other, and one of which is the body (*śarīra*). Then there is given a definition of the so-called *kāvya-śarīra*, which differs from Bhāmaha only in so far that the sense (*artha*) gets the attribute *iṣṭa*. The second element of the *kāvya* consists of the *alaṃkāras*, with which we will deal later on. In this context the word *alaṃkāra* has not the signification of what we call figure of speech, but means the ornament of the *kāvya* in general. The *guṇas also* are thus to be understood under the name *alaṃkāra*. The entire first book of the *Kāvyādarśa* deals with the body of the *kāvya* : the *doṣas*, the *guṇas*, and the *rītis* are all parts of it.

V ā m a n a , speaking of the *kāvya* in the first *sūtra* of this work, gives no definition. He says

kāvyaṃ grāhyam alaṃkārāt.

"The *kāvya* is to be seized on account of the ornament".

In the *vṛtti*, however, the definition of Bhāmaha is clearly alluded to :

kāvyam khalu grāhyam upādeyaṃ bhavati, alaṃkārāt ; kāvyaśabpo'yaṃ guṇālaṃkārasaṃskṛtayoḥ śabdārthayor vartate ; bhaktyā tu śabdārthamātravacano'tra gṛhyate.

"The word *kāvya* has the signification of word and sense, which are endowed with *guṇas* and

*alaṃkāras* ; but from reverence (to the older authorities) it is employed as expressing only word and sense".

The word *alaṃkāra* is used by Vāmana, as in the *Kāvyādarśa* in the sense of ornament in general and of the so-called figures of speech. In the *sūtra* the word has the former signification ; for it is said in I, 1, 2 : *saundaryam alaṃkāraḥ*. "*Alaṃkāra* (*is*) *beauty*".

The following *sūtra* shows in which way this *alaṃkāra* is to be made : *sa doṣaguṇālaṃkārahānādānābhyām*". This (ornament is to be produced) by avoiding the *doṣas* and employing the *guṇas* and *alaṃkāras*[2]. Thus the word *alaṃkāra* is used in the double sense.

There is little doubt that Vāmana had the definition of *kāvya* as given by Bhāmaha in view, and the treatment of the matter shows further what great strength was attributed to the *pramāṇa* or authority. For, though Vāmana thinks that the expression *śabdārthau* is not sufficient to define poetry as it does not show clearly enough, what the characteristic feature of *kāvya* is, he does not endeavour to present a new definition, which would have contrasted with the hallowed view of the old master in poetics. In the opinion of Vāmana every necessary explication is contained in the old definition[3].

2 The *vṛtti* runs : *sa khalu alaṃkāro doṣa-hīnāt guṇālaṃkārādānāt ca sampādyaḥ kaveḥ*. The next *sūtra* says where the poet should be instructed regarding *doṣas*, *guṇas*, and *alaṃkāras* : "*śāstratas tu*", and the *vṛtti* : *te doṣaguṇālaṃkārahānādāne śāstrād asmāt*.

3 There are many cases in the *Kāvyālaṃkāra-sūtravṛtti*

The term *kāvyaśarīra*, which we met in the *Kāvyādarśa*, is found also in the *Kāvyālaṃkārasūtra-vṛtti*, but not in agreement with the view of Daṇḍin, in the *vṛtti* to 1, 3, 10 : the plot of the *kāvya* is designated by the word *kāvyaśarīra*[4].

D h v a n i k ā r a gives a more accurate qualification of the *śabdārtha* in the *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 7), saying *śahṛdayahṛdayāhlādiśabdārthamaya-tvam eva kāvyalakṣaṇam.* "What consitsts of word and sense in such a manner that it pleases the mind of the learned is called *kāvya*".

The old definition of *kāvya* we find again in the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* of R u d r a ṭ a, 1, 2 :

*nanu śabdārthau kāvyam.* "Word and sense (combined is) *kāvya*".

M a m m a ṭ a is a little more explicit in the *Kāvyaprakāśa* 1, 4 :

tad adoṣau śabdārthau saguṇāv analaṃkṛtī punaḥ kvacit.

"The (*kāvya* is) word and sense (combined), and sometimes without *alaṃkāras*".

It appears that this definition is a combination of the term of Bhāmaha and the explanation of Vāmana. It is remarkable that Mammaṭa says *analaṃkṛtī punaḥ kvacit.* The *vṛtti* points out that this is said to prevent the false view that when

where the author respects the opinions of Bhāmaha. Sometimes he is quoted verbatim. We must therefore assume that Bhāmaha was a great authority for Vāmana though the latter is a good deal younger than Bhāmaha. Daṇḍin presents quite a different standpoint.

4 See note above.

there is no *alaṃkāra* as occurs at times, the poem ceases to be a *kāvya*[5].

A little more is said by V ā g b h a ṭ a , though the old definition of Bhāmaha is easily discernible. *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* 1, 2 :

sādhuśabdārthasandarbhaṃ guṇālaṃkārabhūṣitam,
sphuṭarītirasopetaṃ kāvyaṃ kurvīta kīrtaye.

"A *kāvya* which consists of pleasing word and sense, which is adroned with *guṇas* and *alaṃkāras*, and which is endowed with distinct *rītis* and *rasas*, the poet should compose for fame".

Vāgbhaṭa, however, gives no real definition here like his predecessors, but by beginning his book thus, the verse becomes a sort of explanation of what in his opinion the essence of *kāvya* is. For him as well as for the scholars before him the chief element of poetry was *śabdārthau*, word and sense combined ; it is, also, no new idea that *śabdārtha* is qualified by *sādhu* and *guṇālaṃkārabhūṣita*. Considering finally that the differences of style (*rīti*) according to Daṇḍin, Vāmana, and others are based on the differences of the *guṇas* we cannot find anything new in the term *rīti-upeta*. There remains the introduction of the *rasa* in the definition. This had not been done by any of the older *ālaṃkārikas*, though, as a matter of course, they must have considered the development of poetic 'sentiment' as an important feature of poetry, but their definitions do not mention it. The doctrine of the *rasa* had its place primarily in the drama. Hence it came into

5 *Vṛtti* : *kvāpīty anenaitad āha yat sarvatra sālaṃkārau kvacit tu sphuṭālaṃkāravirahe'pi na kāvyatvahāniḥ.*

the *kāvya*, and was dealt with in detail by the younger representatives of poetics. This theme, however, requires separate treatment by itself, which is impossible here. This opinion of Vāgbhaṭa has obviously influenced Viśvanātha, who defines in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 1, 3 the *kāvya* as follows :

vākyaṃ rasātmakaṃ kāvyaṃ doṣas tasyāpakarṣkaḥ,
utkarṣahetavaḥ proktā guṇālaṃkārarītayaḥ.

"A literary composition, the nature of which consists of *rasa*, is called *kāvya*. The *doṣas* (faults) impair (its beauty), the *guṇas* (qualities), *alaṃkāras* (figures of speech), and *rītis* (diction) are the causes of its excellence".

The term *vākya* is nothing else than the well-known *śabdārtha* of the older *ālaṃkārikas*. Before giving the definition Viśvanātha criticizes the opinion of Mammaṭa concerning the same matter sharply, and points out that the definition as given in the *Kāvyaprakāśa* is false. He declares that in the best *kāvyas* there can also be found plenty of *doṣas*, though nobody would think that they were losing their *kāvya*-character thereby. It is true that the scholars have found many 'faults' in the poems of even Kālidāsa. With respect to the term *saguṇa*, too, the *Kāvyaprakāśa* is wrong in the opinion of Viśvanātha, because the so-called *guṇas* are qualities not of the word, as Mammaṭa opines, but of the *rasa*. The doctrines of the *guṇas* had assumed another form in the course of time, which did not correspond with that of the scholars of the older period.

We close this chapter by presenting the definition

of a more modern writer on poetics, J a g a n n ā t h a, who regards the matter from a more correct point of view. He begins his big work, the *Rasagaṅgādhara*, by a discussion of the question of *kāvya* and states :

ramaṇīyārthapratipādakaḥ śabdaḥ kāvyam.

"A composition which produces a pleasing sense is called kāvya".

It must be confessed, however, that this is not an absolutely new definition, for in the *Dhvanyāloka* we read :

sahṛdayahṛdayāhlādiśabdārthamayatvam eva kavya-lakṣaṇam[6]

It is remarkable that Jagannātha, in the exhaustive commentary which follows the definition, does not mention these words, whilst he criticizes the definitions of other authorities.

The main point in the definition is *ramaṇīya.* In commenting it Jagannātha says : *ramaṇīyatā ca lokottarāhlādajanakajñānagocaratā.* "If knowledge brings forth pleasure that goes beyond the common limits, it is *ramaṇīya*". In other words, if a literary composition produces a pleasing surprise, a *camatkāra*, as it is called in the *śāstra,* we have to do with a *kāvya.* In the commentary the author deals fully with that *camatkāra*, which is indeed a characteristic quality of poetry. The following *sūtras* contain some more details as to the real nature of poetry, pointing out the relation between what is said by words and what remains unspoken ; The quality of a *kāvya* is determinated by this relation.

6 See above p. 81.

# THE NATURE OF THE ALAṂKĀRA

Bhāmaha, after having spoken of the qualities of the good poet, does not yet go on to give the definition of *kāvya*. He discusses an interesting question, which is of great importance for the understanding of poetry and which appears to have been the subject of controversy: In which relation do the so-called *alaṃkāras* stand to the *kāvya*[1]. The author says I, 13-15:

rūpakādir alaṃkāras tasyānyair bahudhoditaḥ,
na kāntam api nirbhūṣaṃ vibhāti vanitāmukham.
rūpakādim alaṃkāraṃ bāhyam ācakṣate pare,
supāṃ tiṅāṃ ca vyutpattiṃ vācāṃ vāñchanty alaṃkṛtim.
tad etad āhuḥ sauśabdyaṃ nārthavyutpattir īdṛśī,
śabdābhidheyālaṃkārabhedād iṣṭaṃ dvayaṃ tu naḥ.

"*Rūpaka*, etc. are called by other (scholars) the *alaṃkāra* (ornament) of the (*kāvya*). The face of a girl, though she may be handsome by nature, does not shine without ornament[2].

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1 14b and 15a are quoted by Premacandra in his commentary to Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* I, 10.

2 With this stanza III, 57 (at the end of the definitions of the *alaṃkāras*) must also be compared:

girām alaṃkāravidhiḥ savistaraḥ svayaṃ viniścitya dhiyā mayoditaḥ,
anena vāgarthavidām alaṃkṛtā vibhāti nārīva vidagdhamaṇḍalā.

"After having settled the matter myself, I have, to the best of my knowledge, exhaustively described the *alaṃkāras* of speech. The speech of the sense-knowing (poets)

Other (scholars, however,) designate *rūpaka*, etc. as (mere) exterior ornament (being not closely connected with the essential nature of poetry): They would have the correct formation of nouns and verbs as ornament of sentences (the *kāvya*).

This is called *sauśabdya* by them, and the formation of sense (the so-called *arthālaṃkāras*) is not of this kind. But in our opinion there are two kinds (of *alaṃkāras*): *alaṃkāras* of the words and *alaṃkāras* of the sense."

These statements show clearly that already in the time of Bhāmaha there were very different views regarding poetry, and that poetics in that period was by no means a recent science. Up to this day, however, nothing is known of the pre-Bhāmaha masters; certainly there were two opinions: According to the first, *rūpaka*, etc., were called *alaṃkāras*; but according to the other, these figures of speech are of an exterior kind, the real *alaṃkāra* lying according to them only in the *vyutpatti* (= *alaṃkāra*) of the word (noun and verb, not of the sense). This ornament is designated as *sauśabdya*. The above mentioned stanzas of Bhāmaha are quoted in the

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being ornamented with these (*alaṃkāras*) shines like a girl with lovely ornaments.

One is reminded by this verse of Bhāmaha's reading of the following stanza of Vāgbhaṭa (*Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* IV,1):

doṣair muktaṃ guṇair yuktaṃ api yenojjhitaṃ vacaḥ.
strīrūpam iva no bhāti taṃ bruve'laṃkriyoccayam.

"*Alaṃkriyā* (*alaṃkāra*) is that, without which, a speech does not shine though free from *doṣas* and endowed with *guṇas*, as the form of a woman does not shine of itself without ornaments".

sixth *ullāsa* of Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* and explained exhaustively by the modern commentator Jhalakīkara, who has used an older gloss[3]. The school according to which *rūpaka*, etc. are excluded as *alaṃkāras* and only the so-called *śabdālaṃkāras* acknowledged, argues that nothing but the word is able to produce the *camatkāra* : the separate words are combined with each other in a way that an *anuprāsa* is produced or another of the *śabdālaṃkāras*, or that the *guṇas* (*mādhurya* etc.) come into existence. It is only the word on which all depends. For it is said : "A *kāvya* is recited, is heard, is sung". Thus, nothing else but the word can be the thing in question. The so-called *arthālaṃkāras*, on the other hand, do not possess this particularity, because they are founded on the sense. So these may be considered as something exterior (*bāhya*), and the term *alaṃkāra* can be ascribed to them only in a metaphorical

3 Reference may be made to the explanation given by Jhalakīkara in his ed. of the *Kāvyaprakāsa*, 2nd Ed.,Bombay, 1901, pp. 313f : *tasya kāvyasya rūpakādiḥ.........guṇa evéti bhāvaḥ.* Then the author gives a quotation from the *sārabodhinī* of the same tenor.

The commentary of Māṇikyacandra, published in the *Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series*, No. 89, p. 120, remarks : *Gauḍamatam etat. Tad etad iti. Suptiṅātmakaṃ sauśabdyaṃ śabdavaicitryaṃ. Śabdālaṃkārasādhikā nedṛśī. Na suptiṅātmikety arthaḥ. Athavārthavyutpattir arthālaṃkārarūpā. Rūpakādyalaṃkṛtir īdṛśy antaraṅgā na. Kiṃ tarhi gauṇā. Ity api vyākhyā. Athavārtha-vyutpattir api kāvyaprayojyatvena matety āha : dvayaṃ tu na iti. Bhāmahaḥ śabdasyārthasya cālaṃkārān iṣṭavān paraṃ guṇa-prādhānyena.*

sense[4]. The relation between the *guṇas* (as far as it is possible to speak of *guṇas* in connexion with Bhāmaha) and the *alaṃkāras* is according to Bhāmaha not the same as in the opinion of the later writers. *Mādhurya*, *prasāda* and *ojas*, which the author defines without using, however, the designation of *guṇa*, are not sharply separated from the *alaṃkāras*; in one passage the word *guṇa* is even evidently used in the sense of *alaṃkāra*[5].

Bhāmaha is not of the opinion of these scholars (evidently the *gauḍas*)[6], but holds, without giving further arguments against the other view, that there are two sorts of homogeneous *alaṃkāras* : *śabda* and *arthālaṃkāras*. And this opinion became predominant : the same division is found again in almost all books on *alaṃkāra*. Even Daṇḍin agrees with Bhāmaha on this point, though elsewhere he is always inclined to be at variance with his predecessor. As Daṇḍin belongs to the *Vaidarbha* school as well as Bhāmaha, this agreement of the two *ālaṃkārikas* is nothing to be astonished at.

Bhāmaha did not present a definition of *alaṃkāra*. That is done for the first time by Daṇḍin, (*Kāvyādarśa* II, 1).

kāvyaśobhākarān dharmān alaṃkārān ācakṣate.

"Qualities which produce the beauty of the *kāvya* are called *alaṃkāras*"[7].

4 Compare the corresponding text of the last note.

5 See below.

6 See also the first words of the commentary of Māṇikyacandra referred to in note 3.

7 That the word *alaṃkāra* does not mean "ornament"

This definition is not quite correct, for not only the *alaṃkāras* are the causes of the *kāvya*. There are some other things which have the same effect. The most important among these are the *guṇas*. Though the *guṇas* will be treated exhaustively in another place, it is necessary to deal here, at least, with their general definition, as, reckoning from the time of Vāmana, the doctrine of the *guṇas* is closely connected with that of the *alaṃkāras*. It is worth noting that a definition of the *guṇas* is not to be found in the works of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, though they in a part of them are referred to by these scholars.

V ā m a n a appears to have been well aware that Daṇḍin's definition of the *alaṃkāra* is not satisfactory. Using the same words as the author of the *Kāvyādarśa* he explains it in the *Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti*, III, 1, 1-2 :

Kāvyaśobhāyāḥ kartāro dharmā guṇāh, tadatiśayahetavas tvalaṃkārāḥ.

'Qualities which produce the beauty of the *kāvya* (are called) *guṇas*. The causes of a very high degree (of the beauty of the *kāvya* are called) *alaṃkāras*'.

In the *vṛtti* it is especially mentioned that the *guṇas* must be considered as the elements which produce the *kāvya's* beauty if there were only *alaṃkāras*, the *kāvya* would be far from being beautiful[8].

in general here, but "figure of speech" especially appears from the enumeration of the *alaṃkāras* in II, 2 ff.

8 ye khalu śabdārthayor dharmāḥ kāvyaśobhāṃ kurvanti, te caujaḥprasādādayaḥ na yamakopamādayaḥ, kaivalye teṣām akāvyaśobhākaratvāt, ojaḥprasādādīnāṃ tu kevalānām asti

Thus Vāmana has transformed Daṇḍin's definition of *alaṃkāra* into a definition of *guṇa*, and has from this derived one of *alaṃkāra*. The idea, however, apparently was not quite new. Even in the time of Bhāmaha the *guṇas* were, though not the same as, but homogeneous to the *alaṃkāras* : these may, so to speak, be considered as a sort of continuation of the *guṇas*. That at least we can gather from the way the *guṇas* and *alaṃkāras* are treated by Bhāmaha. Later on, we shall deal more closely with the matter. Vāmana is, as far as we know, the first who precisely formulated the question regarding the relation between *guṇa* and *alaṃkāra*. The close connection which Vāmana assumes between both is corroborated by him, when he goes on to illustrate the separate *guṇas* : they are divided as well as the *alaṃkāras* into *bandha*-(=*śabda*) and *arthaguṇas*.

Vāmana's treatment of the matter in question was, however, not acknowledged by M a m m a ṭ a . He concedes indeed that the *guṇas* are in some way or another connected with the *alaṃkāras*, for he presents the definition of the *alaṃkāra* after that of the *guṇa*, because the second follows from the first, but the definition itself rests on quite a different point of view (VIII, 66) :

ye rasasyāṅgino dharmā śauryādaya ivātmanaḥ,
utkarṣhetavas te syur acalasthitayo guṇāḥ.

"Those qualities which belong to the *rasa* like heroism, etc. to the soul and which are the causes

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kāvyaśobhākaratvam. And *vṛtti* to III, 1, 2 : tasyāḥ kāvyaśobhāyā atiśayaḥ tadatiśayaḥ, tasya hetavaḥ, tuśabdo vyatireke ; alaṃkārāś ca yamakopamādayaḥ.

of (the *rasas'*) excellence and have a permanent existence, are called *guṇas*".

In the *vṛtti* the author explains that the *guṇas* are by no means qualities of the sound [which is the opinion of Vāmana, who distinguishes between *bandha*-(=*śabda*) and *arthaguṇas*] but rather qualities of the *rasa*, the poetical sentiment, as heroism is a quality not of the body but of the soul.

The term *acalasthitayaḥ* is not new. Even Vāmana said already (I, 3, 3): *pūrve nitye* "the first (viz. the *guṇas*) are permanent", and that Mammaṭa's *utkarṣahetavaḥ* has its parallel in Vāmana's *atiśayahetavaḥ* need not be mentioned. The quintessence, however, is that Mammaṭa considers the theory of *guṇa* and *alaṃkāra* from a different standpoint, the *rasa*. This fact touches the question of the soul of poetry, which will be dealt with in another chapter.

After having explained the character of *guṇa* Mammaṭa goes on to define *alaṃkāra* (67):

upakurvnati taṃ santaṃ ye'ṅgadvāreṇa jātucit,
hārādivad alaṃkārās te'nuprāsopamādayaḥ.

"Qualities, which sometimes help an extisting (*rasa*) by means of a link (viz. word or sense), as necklaces, etc. (which are put round the neck of a person and thus adorn him) are the *alaṃkāras*, *anuprāsa*, *upamā*, etc".

While the *gunas* are integral parts of the *rasa*, the *alaṃkāras* have rather an accidental or unessential character, as they aid or adorn the *rasa* which, without them, is already complete in itself. This ornament can be referred to the sense or to the

word which expresses the sense, and thus we get two sorts of *alaṃkāras* : *śabda* and *artha*. The commentary says somewhat more than the *sūtra*[9]. It happens, says the *vṛtti*, that in certain cases there is no *rasa* ; then the *alaṃkāras* are used only with the aim of making the verbal turn of expression (*uktivaicitrya*) interesting. Besides this a third case is possible, when, though there are *rasas*, the employed *alaṃkāras* do not help these *rasas*, but have nothing to do with them really. The author illustrates the mentioned possibilities by some examples. After having done so he goes on to criticise Vāmana's opinion of the *guṇas* and *alaṃkāras* which he calls false. For, if we assume that Vāmana is right, then the following question arises : Is poetry constituted by the co-existence of all *guṇas* or only by a part of them ? If the first is the case the *Gauḍī* and *Pāñcālī* must cease to be poetry, as in the opinion of Vāmana these dictions have only a part of the ten *rasas*. This is absurd. In the second case such sentences which contain a few *guṇas*, but contain nothing which can be called a poetic idea in their structure, would be poetry notwithstanding. In the following example :

adrāv atra prajvalaty agnir uccaiḥ,
prājyaḥ prodyann ullasaty eṣa dhūmaḥ.

"On this mountain there shines a fire ; thence

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9 I shall not consider the question here whether we must conclude from the divergence of the commentary and the *sūtras* that the author of the text is not the same as that of the *vṛtti*. cf. V. S u k t h a n k a r, *ZDMG*. 66, 477 ff., 533 ff.

rises great smoke" the *guṇa* ojas is *contained*, but nobody would be inclined to see any poetic idea in the two lines.

Not less wrong, continues the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, is Vāmana's definition of *alaṃkāra*. For according to the author an *alaṃkāra* can occur only where a *guṇa* already exists. He presents the following instance :

svargprāptir anenaiva dehena varavarṇinī,
asyā radacchadaraso nyakkarotitarām sudhām.

"This beautiful woman embodies the acquisition of heaven on account of this (beautiful) body ; the sweetness of her lips despises nectar."

This contains in spite of the absence of any *guṇa* the two *arthālaṃkāras Viśeṣokti* and *Vyatireka* and this is without doubt poetry.

# THE SOUL OF POETRY

We shall now touch on another interesting subject and consider what the older scholars take to be the soul of poetry. A big step forward is to be observed in the *Kāvyādarśa*. In the opinion of D a ṇ ḍ i n an essential part of poetry is its 'body' (*śarīra*) and he declares (I, 10) that this body is opposed to a second thing, which is represented by the *alaṃkāras*. These *alaṃkāras* adorn the *kāvya* as ornaments adorn the body of a woman, and in the beginning of the second *adhyāya*, *alaṃkāras* are called those qualities which produce the *Kāvya's* beauty. Indeed, the entire arrangement of the poetic matter as treated by Daṇḍin leaves no doubt that he considers the *alaṃkāras* as the main part of poetry ; and so does B h ā m a h a too. Thus both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin were still far from looking upon poetry from a higher point of view. In *Kāvyādarśa* I, 42, however, we are told : *iti Vaidarbhamārgasya prāṇā daśa guṇāḥ smṛtāḥ.* "These spirits of the *Vaidarbha-rīti* are called the ten *guṇas*," but this refers only to the *Vaidarbha*-style, and the author by no means wished to say that the *guṇas* should be considered as the spirit in general[1]. There is no doubt that in the eyes of Bhāmaha and

1 H. J a c o b i, Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* (*ZDMG.*, vol. 56, p. 393). We find the term *kāvyaśarīra* also in Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṃkāra* I, 23, but Bhāmaha means thereby the *kāvya* as a whole. One might be inclined to consider *bhāvikatva* (III, 52, 53) as the soul of poetry accord-

Daṇḍin the essential part of poetry is formed by the *alaṃkāras*, though they do not speak positively of the "soul".

V ā m a n a has followed Daṇḍin in so far as the sentence (*vākya*) is called by him the body of the *kāvya*. He says in *vṛtti* to 1, 26 : *rītir nāmeyam ātmā kāvyasya, śarīrasya veti vākyaśeṣaḥ*, but pursuing this idea he goes much farther than Daṇḍin, so that in his view poetry assumes quite a new aspect. He is the first scholar that speaks of the soul (*ātman*) of poetry. And what is the soul of poetry ? *Sūtra* 1, 2-6 answers : *rītir ātma kāvyasya* "the style is the soul of poetry".

It is true that the *Kāvyādarśa* also contains the doctrine of style and of the *guṇas*, which are closely connected with it ; but *rīti* is nothing independent here, being, on the contrary, a part of the doctrine of *Kāvyaśarīa*. According to Vāmana, both *rīti* (and *guṇas*) have nothing to do with the body of poetry : *rīti* is the soul of poetry.

This idea of Vāmana's was progressive but it was a matter of little satisfaction that the style should be the essential and life-giving part of poetry. As the *rīti* regards only the expression of ideas and not the idea itself, it regards merely the outside, so to say, and Daṇḍin was right to consider it as a part of the body.

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ing to Bhāmaha. This figure of speech does not refer to a single stanza, as *alaṃkāras* generally do, but to the whole composition (*prabandhaviṣayaṃ guṇaṃ*). *Bhāvikatva*, on the other hand, is regarded by Bhāmaha as *alaṃkāra* or, what in this case seems to be the same, as *guṇa*.

U d b h a ṭ a, who appears to have lived at the same time as Vāmana but exercised a greater influence, has a more correct opinion regarding the "soul of poetry" designating by this term the *rasa*. After having defined the *alaṃkāras*, *bhāvika*, and *kāvyaliṅga* Udbhaṭa says (VI, 17) :

rasādyadhiṣṭhitaṃ kāvyaṃ jīvyaṃ jīvadrūpatayā yataḥ,
kathyate tad rasādīnāṃ kāvyātmatvaṃ vyavasthitam.

"As a *kāvya*, which is endowed with *rasa* and so on, is taken to be a living form, the *rasa* is called the soul of the *kāvya*".

And with respect to the *alaṃkāra bhāvika* the author remarks (VI, 14)

rasollāsī kaver ātmā svacche śabdārthadarpaṇe,
mādhuryaujoguṇaprauḍhe pratibimbya prakāśate,,[2]

"The *rasa*-bright soul of the *kavi* shines reflected in the pure mirror of word and sense, endowed with the *guṇas mādhurya* and *ojas*".

Though this opinion of Udbhaṭa's certainly shows progress, a quite clear idea of the quintessence of poetry was not yet found, even by Udbhaṭa, as we may conclude from the word *ādi* in VI, 17. This is not surprising, if we consider that in that period the doctrine of *rasa* was still in its development. The doctrine of *rasa*, taken apparently from the dramatic poetry, was taught by the older *ālaṃkārikas* only in connection with a few figures of speech, the tenor of which indicates a certain state of mind. Not long, however, after the time of Udbhaṭa (perhaps still under his influence) there

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2 J a c o b (*JRAS.* 1897, p. 846) has the variants *rāsollāsī*, *mādhuryaujoyutaprauḍhe*, and *prativindya*.

arose a new system of poetical aesthetics. This is the doctrine of *dhvani* (the doctrine of the unexpressed), which was given in detail in the *Dhvanyāloka.* According to it the *dhvani* was the soul of poetry. What he teaches is shortly the following: The soul of poetry is the tenor (*artha*), and this tenor is twofold: it can be expressed by words (*vācya*) and can be suggested (*pratīyamāna*). Only the latter kind is of value for poetry, and thus nothing else than the unexpressed and merely suggested sense can be called the soul of poetry[3].

3 Compare also Jacobi's introductory pages to the translation of the *Dhvanyāloka* (*ZDMG.*, vol. 56 and pp. 9-16 of the same author's introduction to Ruyyaka's *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva.* Another work on the same subject is the *Vakrokti-jīvita.* As H. Jacobi informs me, this work has been found now and has been edited by Dr. S. K. De in the Calcutta Oriental Series.

# THE RĪTI

The doctrine of *rīti* takes up a great deal of space in the older books on *alaṃkāra*. The word *rīti*, the main designation of which is 'manner or method', designates in poetry a certain method of poetical diction, and has no equivalent in other languages. If one renders it by 'style or diction', one must remember that nothing is explained thereby regarding the essential nature of *rīti*.

That the doctrine of *rīti* is very old may be gathered from the manner of its treatment in Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṃkāra*. Though we do not know in which way older authorities have dealt with the matter in question, it is certain that there were two styles opposed to each other: *Vaidarbhī* and *Gauḍīyā*, and that the *Vaidarbhī* was regarded as the better one, of course only by the poets in *Vaidarbhī rīti*. As a matter of fact there was once a period during which *Gauḍīyā rīti* had famous poets and a great influence upon the development of poetry, but in course of time *Vaidarbhī* grew superior and determined the direction poetry was going to take, to the advantage of Indian poetic literature, as we may add.

Before the time of Bhāmaha there was lively discussion about the existence of two different styles: *Vaidarbhī* and *Gauḍīyā*. Bhāmaha opposes this view saying (1, 31-35) :

vaidarbham anyad astīti manyante sudhiyo' pare,
tadeva ca kila jyāyaḥ sadarthaṃ api nāparam.

gauḍīyam idam etat tu vaidarbham iti kiṃ pṛthak,
gatānugatikanyāyān nānākhyeyam amedhasām.
nanu cāsmakavaṃśādi vaidarbham iti kathyate,
kāmaṃ tathāstu prāyeṇa saṃjñecchāto vidhīyate.
apuṣṭārtham avakrokti prasannam ṛju komalam,
bhinnaṃ geyam ivedaṃ tu kevalaṃ srutipeśalam.
alaṃkāravad agrāmyam arthyaṃ nyāyyaṃ anākulam,
gauḍīyam api sādhīyo vaidarbham iti nānyathā.

"Some scholars hold *Vaidarbha* (*rīti*) as a different (thing). And (they say that) this is the better, (because) it has a good sense, and not the other (*Gauḍīya*)[1]. But where is, we reply, the difference between saying this is *Gauḍīya* and saying that is *Vaidarbha*? The very same thing is to be called by different names by the foolish ones according to the method of one who hangs his judgment on the sleeve of another[2]. But (the other answer) is not *Cāsmakavaṃśa*[3] etc. called a *Vaidarbha* (composition)? That may be so ! Names are usually given capriciously. In the opinion of those scholars, *Gauḍīya* is of a not well developed sense, has no poetical ornaments[4], straight, and tender ; the other (*Vaidarbha*)

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1 Or should we translate: "This (*Vaidarbhī*) is the better, and not the other (*Gauḍīyā*), though this (latter) may be of a good sense"? I preferred the above given translation on account of *apuṣṭārtham* in stanza 34 and *arthyam* in stanza 35.

2 *Gatānugatika* was a proverbial saying. Compare *Pañcatantra* I, 342: gatānugatiko loko na lokaḥ pāramārthikaḥ.

3 Nothing is known as regards this composition.

4 *Vakrokti*, verbatim 'curved manner of speaking' has various meanings in poetics. Here it is apparently the same as *alaṃkāra*, as may be gathered from *alaṃkāravad* in verse 35.

is, as it were, to be sung; only this is agreeable for hearing, has poetical ornaments, is not vulgar, of a good sense, suitable, and not confused. But (so we reply) also *Gauḍiya* is excellent and does, after all, not differ from *Vaidarbha*."

A much clearer picture of *rītis* we gain from *Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa*. As Daṇḍin is an opponent of Bhāmaha we are not surprised that he criticizes Bhāmaha's dealing with *rīti* severely. The author of the *Kāvyādarśa* opens (I, 40) with a polemic note:

asty aneko girāṃ mārgaḥ sūkṣmabhedaḥ parasparam,
tatra vaidarbhagauḍīyau varṇyete prasphuṭāntarau.

"There are many kinds of diction (style), very finely distinguished from each other; but of these (many kinds of style) *Vaidarbha* and *Gauḍiya* are described, (because) their differences are especially manifest."

This verse can only be fully understood when it is taken to be pointed at Bhāmaha: There are not only two sorts of *rītis* but many; but only two of them, *Vaidarbha* and *Gauḍīya*, which in the opinion of Bhāmaha have no distinctive features, are described in detail, because, just on the contrary, their differences are peculiarly clear.

Of what kind are these manifest differences between *Vaidarbha* and *Gauḍīya*? The author says (I, 41, 42):

"*Śleṣa, prasāda, samatā, mādhurya, sukumāratā, arthavyakti, udāratva, ojas, kānti*, and *samādhi*: these spirits of the *Vaidarbha* style are called the ten *guṇas*. Mostly one sees the contrary of them in the *Gauḍa* style."

Thus the doctrine of *rīti* is closely connected with that of *guṇas*, and we have therefore to deal with the nature of the above mentioned ten *guṇas* as far as it is necessary for the understanding of *rīti*[5].

In the opinion of Daṇḍin the ten *guṇas* are peculiarities especially of *Vaidarbha rīti*, while, if we may say so, the *guṇas* of *Gauḍīya* are opposed to those of *Vaidarbhī*. Bhāmaha, too, mentions some qualities, wherein *Gauḍīya* and *Vaidarbha* according to the 'incorrect' opinion of some scholars are said to differ from each other. But they are of another kind. A few of the *guṇas* enumerated by Daṇḍin we also find in Bhāmaha's work, but not directly connected with *rīti*. They are not qualities of a certain style (the differences of which are denied by him), but rather of the good *kāvya* generally. We shall see that matters are considered in a similar way by Vāmana. But let us see, what we are told about *guṇas* by Bhāmaha.

In the beginning of the second *pariccheda* the author says:

"The wise (poets), who claim *mādhurya* and *prasāda*, do not employ too many compounds.

Some (poets, however), who are willing to express *ojas* (prefer) long compounds, as *mandārakusumareṇupiñjaritālakāḥ* (whose curls were coloured yellow by the pollen of *mandāra* flowers)."

Bhāmaha continues (II, 3):

5 A fuller description of *guṇa* will be given in another place, so as not to disturb the context here. I may, however, mention the fact that Vāmana's treatment of the *guṇas* is totally different from the one we find in the *Kāvyādarśa*;

śrāvyaṃ nātisamastārthaṃ kāvyaṃ madhuram iṣyate,
āvidvadaṅganābālapratītārthaṃ prasādavat[6].

"A *kāvya*, which is agreeable to hear and expresses the sense by words which are not too much compunded, is considered as *madhura* (attractive). The sense (of the *kāvya*), which is to be understood by the wise[7], by women, and by children has *prasāda* (clearness)."

With these three verses the whole question is settled for Bhāmaha; verse 4 contains the first group of *alaṃkāras*. From the fact that the author has nothing more to say regarding *ojas* we may gather that according to him *ojas* is not a good quality of the *kāvya*. It is most remarkable that Bhāmaha, in dealing with *mādhurya*, *prasāda*, and *ojas*, does not mention the term *guṇa*. As a matter of course, the doctrine of *guṇa* was fully developed even before his time, because it is mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*[8].

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6 Quoted by Mallinātha and Jayamaṅgala in their commentaries to the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* XI, 1. Both authors read *śrāvya* instead of *śravya* as given by Trivedi. Hemacandra in *Kāvyānuśāsanaviveka* quotes the first line as follows: *tena "śravyaṃ nātisamastārthaśabdaṃ madhuram iṣyata" iti mādhuryalakṣaṇatvena śravyatvaṃ yad Bhāmahenoktaṃ tan na yuktam ity arthaḥ*. As Trivedi mentions in *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 410, a definition quite similar to this is ascribed by Pradīpakāra to an *ālaṃkārika* Bhāskara by name. Pradīpakāra says: *Bhāskaras tu śravyatvaṃ mādhuryasya lakṣaṇam āha sma tad ayuktam*.

7 Or should we rather read *avidvad°* and take it as an adjective to *aṅganā* and *bāla*? Then the sense would be a little more clear.

8 We shall return to this matter on another occasion.

Bhāmaha, therefore, knew the *guṇa* theory very well; but he totally rejected it as he rejected the theory of 'different styles'. Treating the *rīti* (I, 31-35) he mentions some qualities which in the *Kāvyādarśa* are taught as *guṇas*, but these are also of no peculiar value in the eyes of Bhāmaha. Only two qualities *mādhurya* and *prasāda* are of importance, but by no means with regard to one certain sort of diction, but to the *kāvya* in general.

The whole second *pariccheda* of Bhāmaha's is devoted to the illustration of the *alaṃkāras*. Now the first three stanzas contain *mādhurya* and *prasāda*. Are we not justified to conclude from this remarkable fact that two qualities (as we may call them) were in some way or another homogeneous to the *alaṃkāras* themselves, though they are not *alaṃkāras* in the strict sense of the word? And does not Vāmana derive the definition of *alaṃkāra* from that of *guṇa*?[9] But even in Bhāmaha's work there is a passage, where no great distinction is made between *guṇa* and *alaṃkāra*. In III, 1-4 the enumeration of those *alaṃkāras* is given, the definition and illustration of which is the subject of the following verses. Stanza 4 closes: *bhāvikatvaṃ ca nijagur alaṃkaraṃ sumedhasaḥ*. Dealing with the *alaṃkāra bhāvika* the author remarks: *bhāvikatvam iti prāhuḥ prabandhaviṣayaṃ guṇam, pratyakṣa iva dṛśyante yatrārthā bhūtabhāvinaḥ*. "That quality (*guṇa*) is called *bhāvikatva*, the sphere of which is the composition as a whole (and not a single stanza as it is the case regarding the other *alaṃkāras*), where past or future

9 See above p. 90.

things are standing, as it were, before one's eyes. Thus *guṇa* is in the opinion of Bhāmaha not essentially different from, though not identical with *alaṃkāra*. Udbhaṭa is, as regards *bhāvika*, of the same opinion as Bhāmaha. He remarks too that *bhāvikatva* is accompanied by *mādhurya* and *ojas*. The term *guṇa* is not used in this connection by Udbhaṭa[10].

Let us, however, return to Daṇḍin's treatment of *rīti*. Bhāmaha had but little to say on this subject, wholly denying the existence of different styles and also the theory of the ten *guṇas*. As Daṇḍin is the opponent of Bhāmaha, he teaches not only the existence of several *rītis* and of the ten *guṇas* but also goes into the explanation and illustration of the matter at great length. According to his opinion the ten *guṇas* are qualities of the *Vaidarbhī rīti*, but not qualities of the *kāvya* in general. With regard to the single *guṇas* Daṇḍin gives the following account:

1 *Śleṣa.*

I, 43: śliṣṭam aspṛṣṭaśaithilyam alpaprāṇākṣarottaram,
śithilaṃ mālatīmālā lolālikalilā yathā.

"That (is called) *śliṣṭa* which does not possess "looseness." "Loose" is what to the greater part consists of syllables which are pronounced with (only) little breath, as: *mālatīmālā lolālikalilā*[11]." Daṇḍin explains (I, 44).

anuprāsadhiyā gauḍais tad iṣṭaṃ bandhagauravāt,
vaidarbhair mālatīdāma laṅghitaṃ bhramarair iti.

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10 The passage is found in the *Kāvyālaṃkārasaṃgraha VI*, 13-15: The later *ālaṃkārikas* appear to be dependent on Bhāmaha; cf. *Kāvyaprakāśa* X, 28; *Alaṃkārasarvasva* p. 183; Jayamaṅgala and Mallinātha, commenting on *Bhaṭṭikāvya* XII, 1, refer to Bhāmaha.

11 For *iti* in verse 53 seems to refer to the whole preceding stanza, and not only to the last *pāda*.

"On account of their being prepossessed in favour of *anuprāsa* the *Gauḍas* are fond of this. The *Vaidarbhas* (on the other hand) like on account of the stability of composition the following: *mālatīdāma laṅghitaṃ bhramaraiḥ.*"

A sentence like *mālatīmālā lolālikalilā* is notwithstanding its looseness, liked by the western poets, because it contains the *śabdālaṃkāra anuprāsa*, which is very highly estimated by them. The Eastern poets, on the other hand, attach more value to the stability of composition, as the instance *mālatīdāma laṅghitaṃ bhramaraiḥ* shows.

2 *Prasāda.*

I, 45: prasādavat prasiddhārtham indor indīvaradyuti,
lakṣma lakṣmīṃ tanotīti pratītisubhagaṃ vacaḥ.

"That is 'clear' the sense of which is well-known, e.g. a sentence like the following: 'the moon's spot shining like a dark lotus beauty' is beautiful on account of its clear perception."

Everybody knows without any further explanation what is meant by poet's *indīvara, indu,* etc. As to the *Gauḍas* the author says I, 46:

vyutpannam iti gauḍīyair nātirūḍham apīṣyate,
yathānatyarjunābjanmasadṛkṣāṅko balakṣaguḥ.

"If that is based on the words' etymology, the *Gauḍas* also like a mode of expression not altogether clear, e.g.: The white-beamer (i. e. the moon) has a spot which is similar to the unbright (i. e. dark) waterborn ones (i. e. the lotuses)."

Here the poet employs rare words: *arjuna*, better known as a byname of *Kārtavīrya* than as 'white'; still stranger is the term *an-atyarjuna* as meaning

'dark', and in the same way *balakṣagu* and *abjanma*. After all, the words *lakṣma lakṣmīṃ tanoti* in I, 45 would not be liked by the *Gauḍas*, because the connection given in I, 46 would not be liked by the *Vaidarbhas* as, besides the bombastic mode of expression, it contains too harsh combinations of consonants.

3 *Samatā.*

I, 47: samaṃ bandheṣv aviṣamaṃ te mṛdusphuṭamadhyamāḥ,
bandhā mṛdusphuṭonmiśravarṇavinyāsayonayaḥ.

"*Sama* (evenness) is the non-unevenness in the composition; the compositions that are founded upon the employment of soft, harsh, or mixed (soft and harsh) sounds are soft, harsh, or medium (respectively)."

He adds further in I, 48-50 :

"To me comes the *malaya*-wind, talkative through the cooing of the *kokilas*, sprinkled by the drops of the mountain-streams, which are quite clear and the drops of which are going with (the wind). This *malaya*-wind, the fragrance of which is great on account of its relation to the sandle-wood, rivals the breath from the mouths of beautiful girls, because its steadiness increases.

A *Gauḍa kāvya*-style of this kind, which (as verse 49 shows) takes no care of the unevenness and respects only the splendour of sense and *alaṃkāra* acquired a wide extension."

The main point of this *guṇa* is a certain uniformity in the sequence of the sounds, the combinations of sound being soft, harsh, or medium. The poet, however, should not be heedless and thus cause a

pell-mell of sounds, the effect of which becomes disagreeable to the ear. So it is in the opinion of the *Vaidarbhas*, while the *Gauḍas*, on the contrary, pay no attention to this matter, aiming only at brilliant or rather bombastic expressions. As to the instance given by Daṇḍin, 48$^a$ appears to illustrate *mṛdu*, 48$^b$ *sphuṭa samatā*, and 49 *viṣamatā* as peculiar to the *Gauḍīya rīti*[12].

4 *Mādhurya.*

I, 51: madhuraṃ rasavad vāci vastuny api rasasthitiḥ,
yena mādyante dhīmanto madhuneva madhuvrataḥ.

"*Madhura* is what contains *rasa*; (and in this case) *rasa* lies in both word and sense. By this (*rasa*) the knowing ones grow intoxicated as bee by honey."

In the treatment of *madhura* Daṇḍin differs absolutely from Bhāmaha, who as we have seen, spoke of *madhura* too. According to Bhāmaha *mādhurya* is in line with *prasāda*, as in both 'qualities' the length of compounds is the decisive point. Daṇḍin, criticising his rival, states (wholly different as) something the essential matter of *mādhurya*, which has

12 Tarkavāgīśa and Vidyāsāgara present a quite different interpretation of this stanza: "*Śliṣṭa* is what to a large extent consists of syllables which are pronounced with only little breath and what therefore is loose, whereat the looseness, however, is not felt too obviously, e.g. *mālatīmālā lolālikalilā* (a garland of *mālatī*-flowers covered with swarming bees)." Prof. Lüders pointed out to me that this cannot be the correct meaning of Daṇḍin's words. *Mālatīmālā lolālikalilā* is not an example of *śliṣṭa*, but of *śithila*, which fault the poet should avoid. That this is correct appears from *Kāvyādarśa* I, 69, where the author refers to I, 43 (See below p. 109).

nothing to do with compounds. To illustrate and to defend his diverging opinion against Bhāmaha, the author of the *Kāvyādarśa* treats the subject more exhaustively than he does that of other *guṇas*.

The second line of I, 51 is, though closing the 'definition', an instance for that kind of *madhura* where the *rasa* lies in the repetition of similar sounds. The next stanza explains:

yayā kayācic chrutyā yat samānam anubhūyate,
tadrūpā hi padāsattiḥ sānuprāsā rasāvahā.

"An uninterrupted line of words of such a kind that one hears in one way or another (words of) similar (sounds) embraces *rasa*, because that (line of words) is endowed with *anuprāsa*."

Thus, the *guṇa mādhurya* has for an inherent factor an *anuprāsa*, especially the so-called *śrutyanuprāsa*.

Another instance is given in verse I, 53:

eṣa rājā yadā lakṣmīṃ prāptavān brāhmaṇapriyaḥ,
tataḥ prabhṛti dharmasya loke 'sminn utsavo' bhavat.

"Since that time this king, the friend of the brahmins, had got the royal power, was a feast of *dharma* in this world."

In this stanza homogeneous sounds *ṣa* and *ra*, *ja* and *ya*, *da* and *la*, *ma* and *pa*, etc. are set close to each other[13].

The *Gauḍas* do not like, as is mentioned in I, 54, this kind of *anuprāsa*, where homogeneous sounds

13 The commentary says: atra ṣakārarakārayor ekasmin mūrdhani evaṃ jakārayakārayos tālau, dakāralakāroyoś ca dante uccāryamāṇatvāt sāmyam iti śrutyanuprāsaḥ, sa ca dharmavīrapaṭipuṣṭasya rājaviṣayakaratibhāvasya vyañjaka iti mādhuryarasabhāvaḥ.

are repeated, being, on the contrary, more fond of the repetition of the very same sounds.

In the following verses Daṇḍin goes on to illustrate the second sort of *mādhurya*, where the *rasa* lies in the sense. He says (I, 62):

kāmaṃ sarvo 'py alaṃkāro rasam arthe nisiñcati,
tathāpy agrāmyataivaitaṃ bhāraṃ vahati bhūyasā.

"Though every *alaṃkāra* pours *rasa* upon the sense, only a not vulgar mode of expression does above all justice to this (end)."

This is explained by quoting some instances, wherein by the use of vulgar and obscene words the *rasa* of sense is lost.

After the remark that in the foregoing verses *mādhurya* is explained in its various forms (*vibhaktam iti mādhuryam*) Daṇḍin defines the next *guṇa*.

5. *Sukumāratā*

I, 69: aniṣṭhurākṣaraprāyaṃ sukumāram iheṣyate,
bandhaśaithilyadoṣas tu darśitaḥ sarvakomale.

"What consists to a great extent of not rough syllables is called here (in *Vidarbha*) *sukumāra*. We have, however, pointed out (in I, 43[b]) a fault which consists in the looseness of composition in this case, where there are soft syllables throughout[14]."

Example I, 70, 71:

maṇḍalīkṛtya barhāṇi kaṇṭhair madhuragītibhiḥ,
kalāpinaḥ pranṛtyanti kāle jīmūtamālini.
ity anūrjita evārtho nālaṃkāro' pi tādṛśaḥ,
sukmāratayāivaitad ārohati satāṃ manaḥ.

14 In the verse referred to by the author the fault of looseness is illustrated by "*mālatīmūlā lolālikalilā*" which is liked by the *Gauḍas*, because they are very fond of the *anuprāsa*; see p. 105.

"Having formed their tail-feathers into a circle, the peacocks dance in autumn, (crying) with throats, the sounds of which are pleasant.

In this stanza the tenor is not very luxurious; only because it contains *sukumāratā* (the stanza) enters the heart of the wise ones".

Thus *sukumārata* is a peculiarity of the sound of the words and does not regard the sense. The *Vaidarbha* style is soft and tender and is in contrast thus to the *Gauḍīya*, which is fond also of words the articulation of which is rather difficult and rough :

dīpatam ity aparair bhūmnā kṛcchrodyam api badhyate.
nyakṣeṇa kṣayitaḥ pakṣaḥ kṣatriyāṇāṃ kṣaṇād iti.

"Because they regard it as brilliant, the others (the *Gauḍas*) use also words the pronunciation of which is difficult e.g. : *nyakṣeṇa*......(By Paraśurāma the party of the *kṣatriyas* was destroyed in a moment)".

The harshness is caused by the frequency of *kṣ*. This, however, is justified by the fact that the verse contains the so-called *vīrarasa*. According to the commentary the *Vaidarbhas* would employ the *guṇa sukumāratā* also in such a case[15].

### 6. *Arthavyakti.*

I, 73, 74. arthavyaktir aneyatvam arthasya hariṇoddhṛtā
bhūḥ khurakṣuṇṇagāsṛglohitād udadher iti.
mahī mahāvarāheṇa lohitād uddhṛtodadheḥ.
itīyatvena nirdiṣṭe neyatvam uragāsṛjaḥ.

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15 *Gauḍā hi yatra vīrarasādirūpam ojasvi vyaṅgyaṃ tatra paruṣavarṇais tadvyañjanasyāvaśykatayā saukumāryaṃ nādriyante, vaidarbhās tu tatrāpi saukumāryaṃ praveśayanti.*

"There is *arthavyakti* where the sense is not to be conjectured, as: Hari (Viṣṇu) raised the earth out of the ocean, which was reddened by the blood of the snakes crushed by his claws. If (in this case) nothing would have been said but: The great boar raised the earth out of the reddened ocean, one would have to conjecture 'the blood of the snakes".

*Arthavyakti* is not identical with *prasāda*. As regards the latter, clearness is established in the sense of a word in so far as it is not too unusual, while as to the former a sentence does not contain all that is necessary to understand the connection of ideas wholly. Daṇḍin (I, 75) concedes that the *Gauḍas* also aim at *arthavyakti*.

7. *Udāratva*.

I, 76: utkarṣavān gunaḥ kaścid yasminn ukte patīyate,
tad udārāhvayaṃ tena sanāthā kāvyapaddhatiḥ.

"When in a sentence there is perceived a quality of peculiar excellence, then it is called *udāra*. The style of the *kāvya* is permeated by this (*guṇa*)".

The most important word in this definition is *pratīyate*. The idea of a special excelling quality is not mentioned directly by words, but is rather suggested by other ideas, which are as such of a more subordinate character. If that is the case, we have the best kind of poetry. In this statement of Daṇḍin's we notice some of the so-called *dhvani*. *Udāratva* is illustrated by verse I, 77, 78:

arthīnāṃ kṛpaṇā dṛṣṭis tvanmukhe patitā sakṛt,
tadavasthā punar deva nānyasya mukham īkṣate.
iti tyāgasya vākye'sminn utkarṣaḥ sādhu lakṣyate.
anenaiva pathānyatra samānanyāyam ūhyatām.

"When the poor eye of the supplicants has once fallen upon thy face, then, O king, it looks no longer on the face of any other. In this stanza the excelling quality of liberality is well recognised. In a way similar to this the *udāratva* should be expressed also in other cases."

There is, however, still another opinion regarding the *guṇa* in question, as mentioned in the next verse :

ślāghyair viśeṣaṇair yuktam udāraṃ kaiścid iṣyate,
yathā līlāmbujakrīḍāsarohemāṅgadādayaḥ.

"Some scholars hold as *udāra* what is endowed with epitheta ornantia, as : a toy-lotus, a toy-pond, a golden bracelet, etc."

### 8. *Ojas.*

I, 80 : ojaḥ samāsabhūyastvam etad gadyasya jīvitam,
padye'py adākṣiṇātyānām idam ekaṃ parāyaṇam.

"There is *ojas* where long compounds are employed. This (*ojas*) is the life of the prose (-*kāvya*). (But in the opinion) of the *Gauḍas*, (*ojas*) is the only and highest aim also for (the *kāvya* in) verse".

As regards the definition of *ojas* Daṇḍin agrees with Bhāmaha, who however, does not use the term *guṇa*, and does not expressly confine it to prose alone.

In I, 81-85 the author specifies *ojas* :

"In so far as heavy or light syllables are in the majority, in the minority, or combined with each other, this (*ojas*)[16] is of a higher or a lower kind. It is to be met with in the *ākhyāyikā* etc.

The Western Quarter whose sun-ray-cover is

16 Tarkavāgīśa explains *tad* in the text as meaning *samāsabhūyastvam*, but in my opinion *ojas* is meant.

lying on the top of the setting mountain looks like a woman whose red and beautiful garment lies on the large breasts.

In this way the Eastern (poets) employ speeches which are full of *ojas*, but the others acknowledge *ojas* of speeches, only if it is not confusing and is pleasant, as in the following verse" :

payodharataṭotsaṅgalagnasandhyātapāṃśukā,
kasya kāmāturaṃ ceto vāruṇī na kariṣyati.

"Whose mood is not rendered love-sick seeing the Western Quarter, the garment of which the evening sun hangs on the slopes of the clouds (of the breasts)".

The first instance shows the *ojas* of the *Gauḍas*, who are fond of long compounds also in verse ; besides that, this sort of style is to be recognised by the chosen words. In the second example we have apparently another kind of *ojas* peculiar to the *Vaidarbha-rīti.* The plain *śliṣṭarūpaka* (*payodhara*) bestows a certain charm upon the whole sentence. The long but soft sounding compound of the first line is balanced by the short words of the second.

### 9 *Kānti.*

I, 85 : kāntaṃ sarvajagatkātaṃ laukikārthānatikramāt,
tacca vārttābhidhāneṣu varṇanāsv api dṛśyte.

"A sentence is *kānta,* if it pleases all the world by not exceeding the bounds of the natural. And this (pleasing mode of expression) is to be noticed in dialogues as well as in descriptions."

The first kind is illustrated by I, 86 :

gṛhāṇi nāma tāny eva taporāśir bhavādṛśaḥ,
sambhāvayati yāny eva pāvanaiḥ pādapāṃsubhiḥ.

"Those only are real houses which an ascetic like you honours with purifying dust of his feet".

The second kind (I, 87):

anayor anavadyāṅgi stanayor jṛmbhamānayoḥ,
avakāśo na paryāptas tava bāhulatāntare.

"O you with blameless limbs, on your bosom there is not room enough for your swelling breasts.

Daṇḍin comments on these verses (I, 88):

iti saṃbhāvyam evaitad viśeṣākhyānasaṃskṛtam,
kāntaṃ bhavati sarvasya lokayātrānuvartinaḥ.

"Matters like that become, because they are possible and endowed with the diction of a peculiar excellence, pleasant for every one who has to do with worldly affairs".

Something of hyperbole lies, of course, in the above given instances, but as every poetical description is based on *atiśayokti*, and a matter-of-fact account of the actual state of things has but little to do with poetry, the ideas of the stanzas are pleasing and natural notwithstanding[17].

The style of the *Gauḍas*, on the other hand, contrasts greatly with *Vaidarbhī* as regards the naturalness of ideas, as it employs exaggerations to such an extent that they go quite beyond the usual limit. Daṇḍin proceeds (I, 89-92):

"If one intends to express an idea by raising it metaphorically beyond the natural limit, then only the (over) clever[18] are satisfied, but not the others; as:

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17 There is also an *arthālaṃkāra* called *atiśayokti*.

18 *Vidagdhā* must be understood ironically, Tarkavāgīśa says *vidagdhāḥ vidagdhaṃ manyamānā Gauḍā ity arthaḥ; sollunṭhanoktir iyam.*

Our house has to be revered from this time on as the abode of a god, because its sins are entirely washed off by the falling dust of your feet.

The creator has made too narrow the world, not considering that your breasts would grow to such an amplitude.

This is called exaggeration ; it is favoured very much by the *Gauḍas*, but the method explained above is the kernel of the other (*Vaidarbha*) style".

Thus *kānti* of the *Vaidarbha* and *atyukti* of the *Gauḍa* are in contrast with each other.

10 *Samādhi.*

1, 93, 94 : anydharmas tato'nyatra lokasīmānurodhinā,
samyag ādhīyate yatra sa samādhiḥ smṛto yathā.
kumudāni nimīlanti kamalāny unmiṣanti ca,
iti netrakriyādhyāsāl labdhā tadvācinī śrutiḥ.

"If anybody, respecting the limits of naturalness, transfers a quality of one thing to another, it is called *samādhi* ; as :

The day-lotuses shut their eyes and the night-lotuses open them[19]. In this instance we find the metaphorical transference of the function of the eye (to the shutting and opening of lotuses), a term which designates this (the function of the eye)".

Here also, says Daṇḍin, one should respect naturalness. The commentary gives an instance of bad *adhyāropa* : *vṛṃhanti maśakā yatra tatra nidrā sudurlabhā.* "Where the mosquitos are trumpeting, there is hardly any sleep to be found". By transferring the function of trumpeting, peculiar to elephants, to

19 This is, however, not a quite correct rendering of the Sanskrit terms *nimīlanti* and *unmiṣanti.*

the mosquitos the limits of naturalness are too far transgressed.

In the next verses Daṇḍin points out that in a metaphorical way even those words can be used, the placing of which is prohibited in a literal sense, as *niṣṭhīv, udgṛ, vam,* which all mean "to spit".

The metaphorical use of more than one quality at the same time is also permitted (I, 96b-98) :

"Even a transference of several qualities at the same time is desirable : These rows of clouds, which are tired by bearing the heavy embryo and grown (thunder), lean against the lap of the slopes.

The leaning against the lap of the female friend, groaning, (feeling of) heaviness, fatigue : all those manifold qualities of a pregnant woman are (metaphorically) pointed out in this example".

The *adhyāropa* or *adhyāsa* described above makes up a great part of poetry, and here lies a certain difficulty of rendering it into another language, for by translating in the first instance *nimīl* and *unmiṣ* by 'to close and to open the eyes' we express too clearly what the Sanskrit terms give in a more suggestive way. Pointing out the high importance of *samādhi* Daṇḍin says (I, 100) :

tad etat kāvyasarvasvṃ samādhir nāma yo guṇaḥ,
kavisārthaḥ samagro'pi tam enam anugacchati.

"The whole troop of poets should aim at the *guṇa* called *samādhi*, which is the quintessence of the *kāvya*".

Daṇḍin's dealing with *rīti* winds up with the stanzas I, 101, 102 :

"In this way both styles (*Vaidarbhī* and *Gauḍīyā*)

differ from each other on account of their peculiar characteristics. But their further differences, as they are met with in (the compositions of) the various poets, cannot be described (on account of their being too manifold).

Great is the difference between sugar-cane, milk, molasses, etc.; but even Sarasvatī would not be enabled to point out that (difference)".

Thus Daṇḍin has at full length refuted the view of Bhāmaha, who was inclined to deny the difference of *rīti*. In the opinion of Daṇḍin the style of *Vaidarbha* is better, because it is endowed with the ten *guṇas* described fully by the author. The differences between *Vaidarbhī* and *Gauḍīyā* were in fact certainly not so great as Daṇḍin would have us believe, but he is influenced by a prejudice against his predecessor.

Generally speaking, the theory of *rīti* as described by the author of the *Kāvyādarśa* was acknowledged by later scholars, though there were many dissenters with respect to particulars. Even V ā m a n a, who in many cases has followed Bhāmaha, concedes not only the differences of style but is of opinion that the style is the soul of poetry (I, 2, 6: *rītir ātmā kāvyasya*). He attempts to present a definition of *rīti* (I, 2, 8):

viśiṣṭā padaracanā rītiḥ,,

"A specified arrangement of words (is called) *rīti*. According to Vāmana there are not two but rather three different styles, the differences of which are evident, the third being *Pāñcālī*. This statement is of some interest and of some importance with regard

to *kāvya* literature. The author has something to say about the origin of *rītis* (I, 2, 9 and 10 *vṛtti*).

"There rises a question : Do the *guṇas* (which characterise the different kinds) of *kāvyas* originate in different countries, that they are called after the names of countries (*Vidarbha*, *Gauḍa*, Pāñcāla), as certain material products (come from certain countries) ? (We answer :) No ! For (the *sūtra* runs) : They are called *Vaidarbha* etc., because they are met with in different countries as Vidarbha etc., (that is) because they are used in their pure form by poets in the countries of Vidarbha, Gauḍa and Pāñcāla, therefore these ways of diction are called after the name of the countries ; but the countries by themselves have by no means any effect upon the (form of) *Kāvyas*."

Vāmana agrees with Daṇḍin not only on this point that the differences of *rīti* are founded on the *guṇas*[20], but that among the *rītis Vaidarbhī* is the best. *Vaidarbhī* is endowed, he says, with all *guṇas* (I, 2, 11 : *samagraguṇopetā Vaidarbhī*). With respect to the superiority of *Vaidarbhī* the author quotes the following *ślokas* :

asprṣṭā doṣamātrābhiḥ samagraguṇagumbhitā,
vipañcīsvarasaubhāgyā vaidarbhī rītir iṣyate.
tām etāṃ kavayaḥ stuvanti :
sati vaktari saty arthe sati śabdānuśāsane,
asti tan na vinā yena parisravati vāṅmadhu.

"That *rīti* is called *Vaidarbhī* which is untouched

20 Vāmana's treatment of the *guṇas* which differs widely from that in the *Kāvyādarśa*, will be discussed in another place.

by even the slightest faults, furnished with all the *guṇas*, and which sounds sweetly as the notes of a lute.

The *kavis* praise it :

There may be a speaker, there may be a (good) sense (or tenor), there may be (a usage of words which is correct according to) grammar—without the (*Vaidarbhī*) the honey of speech will not flow".

This style is illustrated by a stanza from *Śakuntalā*[21].

gāhantām mahiṣa nipānasalilaṃ śṛṅgair muhus tāḍitaṃ
chāyābaddhakadambakaṃ mṛgakulaṃ romantham abhyasyatu,
visrabdhaiḥ kriyatām varāhapatibhir mustākṣatiḥ palvale
viśrāntiṃ labhatām idaṃ ca śithilajyābandham asamaddhanuḥ.

"The buffalloes may wallow in the water, striking it again and again with their horns ; the flock of deer may ruminate in the shadow of the wood ; the great boars may uproot without fear the pools' grass ; and this bow of mine may rest with loosened string".

This instance shows that *Vaidarbhī* by no means avoids every compound absolutely but later on we shall meet a special kind of this style, where there are no compounds at all.

*Gauḍīyā* is endowed with but two *guṇas* : *ojas* and *kānti* (I, 2, 12 : *ojaḥkāntimatī Gauḍīyā*). The commentary says a little more :

"As *Gauḍīyā* is devoid of *mādhurya* and *saukumārya*, it has long compounds and harsh sounding words. There is the following stanza :

The learned ones, well-versed in style, praise

21 Act II, ed. Cappeller, p. 19.

*Gauḍīyā* as a way of expression which has (long) compounds and high sounding words and which therefore is endowed with the *guṇas*, *ojas* and *kānti*".

The following stanza from Bhavabhūti's *Mahāvīra-carita* (I, 54) is quoted as an instance of *Gauḍīyā* :

dordaṇḍāñcitacandraśekharadhanurdaṇḍāvabhaṅgodyatas
ṭaṃkāradhvanir āryabālacaritaprastāvanāḍiṇḍimaḥ
drākparyastakapālasampuṭamitabrahmāṇḍabhāṇḍodara-
bhrāmyatpiṇḍitacaṇḍimā katham aho nādyāpi viśrāmyati.

"Alas! Even now the twanging sound of the bow-string does not stop, (the sound) produced by the breaking of Śiva's bow, which he bent with his arms, (the sound of) a drum for glorifying Rām's youthful deeds, (the sound) the heaped-together-wrath of which rumbles through the world in the vessel of the Brahman-egg, (the world) which lies torn asunder between the rapidly burst shells".

Comparing this stanza with the above quoted words of Kālidāsa's the characteristic feature of *Gauḍīyā* becomes very obvious. There is scarcely a possibility of lengthening the compounds still more than is done by Bhavabhūti. The mode of expression appears to be very stilted and the words are not the usual ones[22].

*Pāñcālī*, the last of the *rītis* mentioned by Vāmana, possesses the two *guṇas mādhurya* and *saukumārya* (I, 2, 13). The *vṛtti* says :

ojaḥkāntyabhāvād anulbaṇapadā vicchāyā ca, tatra ca ślokaḥ :
āśliṣṭaślathabhāvāṃ tu purāṇacchāyayānvitām,
madhurāṃ sukumārāṃ ca pāñcālīṃ kavayo viduḥ.

22 Reading Bhavabhūti's dramas one will find that the stanzas therein are of a type similar to the above mentioned. They are, however, not throughout of the same kind; but, on the whole, the *rīti* of this poet's work is *Gauḍīyā*.

"As the *Pāñcālī* does not show *ojas* and *kānti*, it has no high sounding words and is without brilliance. There is a *śloka* :

The wise ones call *Pāñcālī* sweet and tender, which is endued with mildness and resembles the style of *Purāṇas*".

Example :

grāme' smin pathikāya pāntha vasatir naivādhunā dīyate
rātrāv atra vihāramaṇḍapatale pānthaḥ prasupto yuvā,
tenotthāya khalena garjati ghane smṛtvā priyāṃ tat kṛtaṃ
yenādyāpi karaṅkadaṇḍapatanāśaṅkī janas tiṣṭhati.

"Traveller, in this village no wayfarer is allowed to dwell now. (Once) a young traveller slept at night under the roof of this pavilion. When the cloud was thundering, the wicked one rose, remembered his beloved, and did something by reason of which even to-day people constantly fear the falling-down of the skeleton"[23].

After having spoken of the particular qualities of the single *rītis* Vāmana goes on to deal with the relation of *Vaidarbhī, Gauḍīyā,* and *Pāñcālī* to each other. The poet should cling to the *Vaidarbhī,* because only this mode of expression is possessed by all *guṇas,* but not to the two others, as they have but a few of them (I, 2, 14, 15). The opinion of some scholars, according to whom the poet should practise in the other *rītis* and may so become a master in *Vaidarbhī,* is refuted by Vāmana, who says that if one limits oneself to the unreal, one cannot attain the real *(tattva)* ; a weaver, who weaves only with

23 As this stanza appears to have been quoted from a poem we do not know, the context is doubtful.

jute, how can he get skill in the weaving of silk (I, 2; 16-18).

Thus, the *Vaidarbhī* is the best *rīti*, and there is, says Vāmana, a special kind of it, described in I, 2, 19-21 :

sāpi samāsābhāve śuddhavaidarbhī, tasyām arthaguṇasampadāsvādyā, tadupārohād arthaguṇaleśo'pi.

"*Vaidarbhī* is called pure *Vaidarbhī*, if there are no compounds. In this (pure *Vaidarbhī*) the richness of *arthaguṇas* comes to be tasted. Even the slightest *arthaguṇa* (is to be tasted), when connected with the (pure *Vaidarbhī*, to say nothing of the entirety of the *arthaguṇas*)".

The commentary gives the following lines :

"In the (*Vaidarbhī*) there is an incomparable arrangement of words, where even what is nothing becomes something, as it were. When it reaches the wise one's ear, it causes delight ; it enters the heart like a stream of nectar.

Such 'ripeness' (*pāka*), pleasing the hearts of men of taste, results from the *Vaidarbha* style that the beauty of words quickens, and that even the unreal acquires a reality".

There are two other passages in Vāmana's book where the term *pāka* is mentioned. Rājaśekhara dealing with *vyutpatti*, goes into detail concerning the *pāka*. On a previous occasion the matter in question has been spoken of[24].

Finally, *Vāmana* says with respect to this most excellent kind of diction (I, 1, 22) :

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24 See above p. 51.

sāpi vaidharbhī tātsthyāt ; and the vṛtti : sāpīyam arthaguṇasampad vaidarbhīty uktā ; tātsthyād ity upacārato vyavahāraṃ darśayati.

"This richness of *arthaguṇas* is even called (metaphorically) *Vaidarbhī*, because (those *guṇas* are to be found in the (*Vaidarbhī* and nowhere else)".

Let us now turn to **R u d r a ṭ a.** Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin have described two *rītis* : *Vaidarbhī* and *Gauḍīyā* ; Vāmana presents a third : *Pāñcālī* ; in Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṃkāra* we meet a fourth : *Lāṭīyā*.

But there is a remarkable difference between Rudraṭa's treatment of the *rītis* and that of his predecessors : Rudraṭa does not judge the mode of expression from the standpoint of *guṇa*, but from that of the structure of compounds.

Rudraṭa in the second book defines *kāvya* as a union of word and sense. After having stated that there are four categories of words, he continues (II, 3-5) :

"Nouns are twofold, compounded or not compounded. When the nouns take the shape of compounds, then we have three *rītis*.

They are called *Pāñcālī*, *Lāṭīyā* and *Gauḍīyā*, as they have short, medium, and long compounds, respectively.

We have *Pāñcālī* when there are compounds of two or three words, *Lāṭīyā*, when there are compounds of about five to seven words ; there is *Gauḍīyā* where compounds are formed by as many words as possible".

Verbs prefixed by prepositions are not considered as compounds in this sense ; these prepositions are used only to modify the meaning of the verb

(II. 6[a] : *ākhyātāny upasargaiḥ saṃsṛjyante kadācid arthāya*).

The above described three *rītis* are in contrast to the diction of *Vaidarbhī*; II, 6[b] :

vṛtter asamāsāyā vaidarbhī rītir ekaiva.

"When the words are compounded, then we have but one *rīti*, the *Vaidarbhī*".

That is all Rudraṭa has to say about *rītis*. His treatment of matters apparently shows that the doctrine of *rīti* has lost a great deal of its former significance and importance, and that it was no longer founded upon geographical differences and upon the existence on contemporary compositions belonging to a certain style. Any poem might have verses in different ways of diction, according to the sort of compounded words met therein. *Vaidarbhī* was thought the finest style, and had in course of time put all the others in the background. As Rudraṭa's *Vaidarbhī* contains no compounds, it resembles the *śuddha-Vaidarbhī* of Vāmana.

Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (*adhyāya* 7, p. 31) mentions only three *rītis* : *Vaidarbhī*, *Gauḍīyā*, and *Pāñcālī*, which he considers as the three forms of speech (*rītirūpaṃ vākyatritayam*), without giving any further explanations. Rājaśekhara appears, as regards these three *rītis*, to be influenced by Vāmana. For the author of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* another factor is of much greater importance, that is the manner of recitation and the change of pronunciation which bears the name *kāku*. As *kāku* is reckoned under the *śabdālaṃkāras* by Rudraṭa (which opinion is not shared by Rājaśekhara), it must

be described on another occasion, when we treat the history of the *alaṃkāras*.

In the time of Mammaṭa the doctrine of *rīti* became of still less significance. Though in the *Kāvyaprakāśa* the whole domain of poetics is treated exhaustively, *rīti* is touched on only by the way. It is mentioned twice : first in the eighth *ullāsa*, where Mammaṭa refuses to accept Vāmana's opinion regarding the *guṇas*, and secondly in the ninth *ullāsa*. Here, the *śabdālaṃkāras* are defined. The *anuprāsa*, the author says, is twofold being *cheka-* and *vṛttya-nuprāsa*, the latter consisting in the repetitions of the same consonants. According to the various sorts of consonants there are three kinds of this *anuprāsa* : 1. *upanāgarikā* : the repeated consonants suggest *mādhurya* ; 2. *paruṣā* : the consonants are the cause of *ojas* ; 3. *komalā* : when the sounds are of a kind different from those of the two mentioned. Now the author says that in the opinion of Vāmana etc. the three kinds of *rīti Vaidarbhī*, *Gauḍī*, and *Pāñcālī* are based on those three kinds of *vṛttyanuprāsa*. It appears from the statements that the doctrine of *rīti*, though of great importance in the period of Daṇḍin (the greatest defender of the difference of dictions), had retained only a mere historical interest.

# THE DIVISION OF POETRY

The division of poetry (*kāvya*) had always been a matter of great interest for the Indian teachers of poetics. Before going into details we have to examine from which points of view the division of the *kāvya* has been made.

Bhāmaha, who deals with the matter immediately after the definition of *kāvya* is given, presents a division according to the following standpoints : (i) prose and verse (*gadya* and *padya*). (ii) the language the composition is written in ; that is Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa. (iii) the subject matter : anything which has really happened, which is invented by the poet's imagination, the domain of arts, and, finally, that of *śāstra*. (iv) The shape of the work as a whole: *śargabandha*, *abhineyārtha*, *ākhyāyikā*, *kathā* and *anibaddha*.

In the work of Daṇḍin the divisions are arranged a little better: the author divides according to only two points of view, which are (1) *gadya* and *padya*, and (2) the language. The other kinds mentioned by Bhāmaha are brought under the groups *gadya* or *padya*, so that *sargabandha*, both *ākhyāyikā* and *kathā*, and *abhineyārtha* (*nāṭaka*), and *campū* (not mentioned by Bhāmaha) are but subdivisions of *padya* (verse), of *gadya* (prose), and of a combination of both *padya* and *gadya*, respectively.

Vāmana, too, gives only two main divisions, but not in the same way as Daṇḍin ; these are :

1. *gadya* and *padya*; 2. *anibaddha* and *nibaddha*. *Anibaddha* is that kind of poetry which consists of verses each distinct in itself (e. g. the *śatakas* are of this kind); *nibaddha*, on the other hand, is a poem, where the whole of the stanzas forms the content. Poetry in prose is according to Vāmana, threefold: *vṛttagandhi*, *cūrṇa*, and *utkalikāprāya*, which division is not respected by later *ālaṃkārikas*. *Sargabandha* etc. are not mentioned, and nothing is said about the different languages.

Rudraṭa, again, has another standpoint. A *kāvya* is a combination of word (*śabda*) and sense (*artha*), and as Rudraṭa describes both subjects separately throughout, the division of *kāvya* is to be met with in two different passages of the *Kāvyālaṃkāra*: in the second and in the sixteenth *adhyāya*. Under the heading *śabda* we find *gadya* and *padya*, and, further, the division with respect to the language; under the heading '*artha*' the classification according to the content: *utpādya* (where the subject is invented by the poet) and *anutpādya* (where the subject is known). This last idea is, however, not quite new, as it had already been presented by Bhāmaha. A second principle of division is the greater or lesser extension of the composition (*prabandha*). *Mahākāvya*, *ākhyāyikā*, and *kathā* are reckoned under *utpādya* poetry.

Though the ways of classification greatly differ from each other in some respects (the authors of the *alaṃkāra śāstra* endeavouring to present new ideas), the general principles are the very same everywhere. Then only, when poetry was considered from a higher

point of view (that of *dhvani*), the above mentioned classifications were no longer placed in the foreground. They were, however, not considered as incorrect or false, but they were of only little interest (*vaicitrya*, which term had been employed already by Vāmana in a similar connection) for the scholars of more 'modern' times. If anybody wished to inform himself regarding those divisions, he was referred to the older masters, who had treated the matter fully.

Thus Mammaṭa teaches that there are three kinds of poetry: superior (*uttama*), medium (*madhyama*), or inferior (*avara*) poetry, according to the superiority or inferiority of the 'unspoken'.

In Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* there are ideas we do not meet with in any of the former works on *alaṃkāra*. Though the author's explanations are, for the greater part, of little value, and though, strictly speaking, they ought not to be treated here, because they deal with the division not of *kāvya* but of *vākya*, we will give a short account of them. Speech (*vākya* = *vacana*), says Rājaśekhara, is, according to what the author is, either *brāhmya*, or *śaiva*, or *vaiṣṇava*. There are five divisions of the first kind: the speaker may be Brahman himself, the *īśvaras* (the Bhṛgus, etc., who are descended from Brahman's mind), the sons of the *īśvaras* (the *ṛṣis*), the offsprings of the *ṛṣis*, and, finally, their sons. Examples may be taken from the *Purāṇas*. But according to the view of the *kavis* (Rājaśekhara continues) speech (*vacas*), as it is found in the Vedas, is called *pārameśvara* and

later on, *divya*, because the gods (*deva*) and those beings who are of divine origin (*devayoni*: *vidyādhara*, *apsaras*, *yakṣa*, *rakṣas*, *gandharva*, *kiṃnara*, *siddha*, *guhyaka*, *bhūta*, and *piśāca*) act as intermediaries. With respect to this, four kinds of speech are especially of importance: *vaibuddha*, *vaidyādhara*, *gāndharva*, and *yoginīgata*. The form of the compounds is partly decisive here. There are some interesting peculiarities: The *Piśācas* (attendants to Śiva) should speak in their own sphere Sanskrit, but on earth *Bhūtabhāṣā*; the language of the Apsaras is Prakrit. That is according to Rājaśekhara important, because there appear gods, etc. in the *nāṭakas*. *Divya* is in contrast to *Vaiṣṇava*. The language called *Vaiṣṇava* has come to earth by means of the incarnations of Vāsudeva, so that it is commonly called *mānuṣa*. With respect to the *rīti* speech is threefold: *Vaidarbhī*, *Gauḍīyā*, and *Pāñcālī*, but the way of recitation (*kāku*) gives rise to varieties of these three kinds.

We will return to Bhāmaha in order to see in which way poetry has been divided by him. He says (I, 16):

śabdārthau sahitau kāvyaṃ gadyaṃ padyaṃ ca tad dvidhā,
saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtaṃ cānyad apabhraṃśa iti tridhā.

"Word and sense combined are *kāvya*. It is twofold, prose and verse; it is further threefold, as it may be composed in Sanskrit, in Prakrit or in another (idiom) different (from those), *viz.* Apabhraṃśa."

## 1. *Gadya* and *Padya*.

According to D a ṇ ḍ i n there are not two kinds, prose and verse (as Bhāmaha thought), but three (*Kāvyādarśa* I, 11ᵃ):

padyaṃ gadyaṃ ca miśraṃ ca tat tridhaiva vyavasthitam.

"The (body of the *kāvya*) is threefold: verse, prose, and mixed (verse and prose)."

It is also worth noting that Daṇḍin does not begin with *gadya*, as Bhāmaha did, but with *padya*. As is said in I, 31 the *nāṭakas* and other compositions belong to the *miśrakāvyas*.

As to *padya* the author comments (I, 11ᵇ, 12):

padyaṃ catuṣpadī tac ca vṛttaṃ jātir iti dvidhā.
chandovicityāṃ sakalas tatprapañco nidarśitaḥ,
sā vidyā naus titīrṣūṇāṃ gambhīraṃ kāvyasāgaram.

"*Padya* is a stanza consisting of four metrical feet; and the *padya* is of two kinds: *vṛtta* (i. e. metres wherein the syllables are counted), *jāti* (metres wherein the moras are counted). In prosody all the varieties of metre have been described: this knowledge is the ship for every one who is willing to cross the profound *kāvya*-ocean."[1]

V ā m a n a is of the same opinion as Bhāmaha, stating (I, 3, 21):

kāvyaṃ gadyaṃ padyaṃ ca.

"The *kāvya* is in prose and in verse."

That the *miśra* of Daṇḍin is contained therein follows from the further description of Vāmana; *gadya* is named first (as was done by Bhāmaha),

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1 From this stanza some scholars (J a c o b i, P e t e r s o n) would gather that *Chandoviciti* is the title of a third work of Daṇḍin's; but *Chandoviciti* is a common term for 'prosody'. See note 14 on page 49.

because it presents more difficulties in the opinion of the author[2]. Thus Vāmana corroborates the opinion of the master.

There are, according to Vāmana (I, 3, 22) three kinds of *gadya*. When verses occur occasionally in the prose, it is called *vṛttagandhi*. This is the *miśra* of Daṇḍin. *Cūrṇa* is called that sort of prose the words of which are pleasing and do not form too long compounds( I, 3, 24): *anāviddhalalitapadaṃ cūrṇam*[3]. *Utkalikāprāya* being the reverse of the latter has long compounds and high sounding words. As we have seen before these qualities are peculiar to different styles; *utkalikāprāya* shows a very great similarity to *gauḍīyā*.

*Padya* is, of course, divided into many kinds, but no further detail is given by Vāmana[4].

Rudraṭa as well as Bhāmaha and Vāmana deals only with the two kinds *gadya* and *padya*, which, however, are not divisions of *kāvya* itself, but rather of what *kāvya* consists of and what is called *kāvyaśarīra* by Daṇḍin. Considering that according to the *Kāvyaādarśa śarīra* is defined as *padāvalī* (a series of words), and that in Rudraṭa's opinion the vocal expression of *kāvya* is the sentence (*vākya*), it appears that the theories of both Daṇḍin and Rudraṭa are almost the same in this point. Rudraṭa says (*Kāvyālaṃkāra* II, 11):

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2 gadyasya pūrvaṃ nirdeśo durlakṣyaviśeṣatvena durbandhatvāt, tathāhuḥ,—gadyaṃ kavīnāṃ nikaṣaṃ vadanti.

3 Vṛtti: anāviddhāny adīrghasamāsāni lalitāny anuddhatāni padāni yasmiṃs tad anāviddhalalitapadaṃ cūrṇam iti.

4 Vṛtti: padyaṃ khalv anekena samārdha-sama-viṣamādinā bhedena upetaṃ bhavati.

vākyaṃ bhavati dvedhā gadyaṃ chandogataṃ ca.

"The sentence is twofold, prose and verse."

M a m m a ṭ a does not mention this division in his *Kāvyaprakāśa* at all.

2. *Sanskrit Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa*

Bhāmaha's second division (I, 16) is determined by the idiom the *kāvya* is composed in[5]. The stanza is of some interest on account of the word *apabhraṃśa*[6]. Apparently Bhāmaha does not understand by this term one special language, but rather, a group of several idioms, which widely differ from Sanskrit. This is suggested by the name itself. If this is right, *prākṛta* does not mean a class of idioms, but a certain dialect; and this dialect is probably the *māhārāṣṭrī*, which without doubt in the period of Bhāmaha had a very great importance as a language in which poetical compositions were written.

As in my opinion Daṇḍin was a younger contemporary of Bhāmaha the literary facts spoken of in

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5 The stanza (Bhāmaha I, 16[b]) is quoted by Namisādhu, commenting on *Kāvyālaṃkāra* II, 11, in the following form *prākṛtaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ caitad apabhraṃśa iti tredhā.* The incorrectness of this appears already from the anteposition of *prākṛtam.* The difficulty lies in *anvad.* Another translation of this important verse than the one given above is scarcely possible.

6 Of the more recent investigations on *Apabhraṃśa,* I may here mention two papers by Prof. J a c o b i: *Bhavisatta kahā von Dhaṇavāla* (*Abhandlungen der Kgl. Bayer. Akad. D. Wiss., Philos.-philol. Kl., Vol.* 29, 4), and *Sanatkumāracarita* (*ib. Vol.,* 31, 2). The former paper is in many respects supplemented and corrected by the latter.

the *Kāvyādarśa* are, generally, the same as those we met with in the work of Bhāmaha. We find indeed (the suggestion mentioned above corroborated in the *Kāvyādarśa*. Daṇḍin mentions (I, 32) Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa, which three idioms are employed for literary purposes. Let us see what Daṇḍin has to say concerning Apabhraṃśa.

I, 36: ābhīrādigiraḥ kāvyeṣv apabhraṃśa iti smṛtāḥ,
śāstreṣu saṃskṛtād anyad apabhraṃśatayoditam.

"In the *kāvyas* the idioms of the ābhīras etc. are considered as apabhraṃśa. But in the *śāstras* that is called Apabhraṃśa which differs from Sanskrit"[7].

According to this statement, the word *apabhraṃśa* has a double meaning. In the *śāstras*, and especially in the books on poetical theories, and thus in the work of Bhāmaha all languages which are different from Sanskrit are united under the name of *apabhraṃśa*. There is little doubt that, that was in the older period the meaning of the word, and that only in the course of time the word assumed a more pregnant and particular sense, perhaps then, when the 'best' Prakrit, *māhārāṣṭrī*, was used as a language fit for literary compositions. Then the scholars retained the older meaning of the word, whilst in common use the term *prākṛta*, once the designation of a determinate language (*māhāraṣṭrī*),

7 Tarkavāgīśa thinks the term *ābhīra* not a nomen proprium, but rather used in a professional sense: cowherd. He says: kāvyeṣu nāṭakādiṣu ābhīrādigiraḥ ābīrīprabhṛtayo gopacāṇḍālaśakārādīnāṃ vyavaharaṇīyā bhāṣā apabhraṃśa iti smṛtāḥ apabhraṃśanāmnā bhāṣānirūpakair nirūpitāḥ. But this is probably not the case.

took the place of '*apabhraṃśa*[8]. If '*apabhraṃśa*' was mentioned in the *kāvyas* something different from the *apabhraṃśa* of the *śāstras* was meant, *viz.* such dialects as were a good deal less important and lower than the vernacular of the *ābhīras* etc., in which idioms scarcely any literary works were composed in the period of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. The home of the *ābhīra*-language was, as is stated by Taruṇavācaspati, one of the commentators on the *Kāvyādarśa*, in Western India[9].

With respect to the various dialects Daṇḍin says (I, 33):

saṃskṛtaṃ nāma daivī vāg anvākhyātā maharṣibhiḥ,
tadbhavaḥ tatsamo deśīty anekaḥ prākṛtakramaḥ.

"Sanskrit is the divine language, taught by the great sages. The variations of Prakrit are numerous, being *tadbhava* (come forth from that, *i. e.* Sanskrit), *tatsama* (similar to that), or belonging to certain regions."

From the term *deśī* we may gather that the word *Prākṛta* is used here in a wider sense including also *Apabhraṃśa*. Taruṇavācaspatī, however, thinks that the Māgadhī language is meant (*deśī iti māgadhī gṛhyate*). The author of *Hṛdayaṅgama* comments: *deśī povallī iti kramukanāmā, cassiṃsī iti kāñcanasya nāma, dogghaṭa iti gajasya nāma.* This Prakrit in

8 Prof. Pischel in his famous Prakrit Grammar quotes, (p. 1) an observation by Śaṃkara to *Śakuntalā* 9, 10, saying: saṃskṛtāt prākṛtaṃ śreṣṭhaṃ tato' pabhraṃśabhāṣaṇam.

9 The commentary of Hṛdayaṅgama has another interpretation: ābhīro nāma paścimārṇavatīre vartamāno deśaviśeṣaḥ, athavā ābhīrādayaḥ gopālādayaḥ.

the word's wider sense is in contrast to Prakrit in the narrower sense, (I, 34:)

mahārāṣṭrāśrayāṃ bhāṣāṃ prakṛṣṭaṃ prākṛtaṃ viduḥ,
sāgaraḥ sūktiratnānāṃ setubandhādi yanmayam.

"As the most excellent Prakrit the language of *Mahārāṣṭra* is considered. The *Setubandha* etc., the ocean of jewels of good sayings, is composed therein."

Other variations of Prakrit are mentioned in I, 35 :

śaurasenī ca gauḍī ca lāṭī cānyā ca tādṛśī,
yāti prākṛtam ity evaṃ vyavahāreṣu saṃnidhim.

"*Śaurasenī*, *Gauḍī*, *Lāṭī* and other dialects of this kind are as 'Prakrit-variations' met with in the dialogues (in *nāṭakas* etc)."

As to the division caused by the difference of the languages Daṇḍin states that from this point of view four kinds of *kāvya* must be distinguished (not three, as Bhāmaha had said) :

tad etad vāṅmayaṃ bhūyaḥ saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtaṃ tathā,
apabhraṃśaś ca miśraṃ cety āhur āptāś[10] caturvidham.

"This (body of the *kāvya*) formed by the languages is further taken by the authorities as being fourfold, as far it is Sanskrit, Prakrit (*Māharāṣṭrī*), Apabhraṁśa, or mixed (dialects)[11]".

In the next stanzas the question is answered, in which manner the various idioms are peculiar to the different sorts of poetical compositions :

saṃskṛtam sargabandhādi prākṛtaṃ skandhakādikam,
āsārādīny apabhraṃśo nāṭakādi tu miśrakam.

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10 I prefer this reading to *āryāś*. The Tibetan translation has a word which means 'clever, expert'. With respect to *āpta* compare *Kāvyādarśa* II, 22f.

11 *tad evaṃ vāṅmayam* refers to *śarīra* in I, 9. *Bhūyas* goes back to stanza 10.

"A *sargabandha* etc. is in Sanskrit ; compositions in the metre *skandhaka* etc. in Prakrit ; compositions in the metre *āsāra* etc. in Apabhraṃśa, but *nāṭakas* etc. are in mixed dialects".

By the word *tu* the importance of the new kind '*miśra*' (which is not found in Bhāmaha's) is, as it were, underlined.

Kathāpi sarvabhāṣābhiḥ saṃskṛtena ca badhyate,
bhūtabhāṣāmayīṃ prāhur adbhutārthāṃ bṛhatkathām.

"The *kathā*, too, is composed in all languages and in Sanskrit. The *Bṛhatkathā*[1 2] with its wonderful tenor is said to have been composed in the idiom of the ghosts".

V ā m a n a and also, be it mentioned here already, M a m m a ṭ a had said nothing about the languages. We turn therefore to R u d r a ṭ a. Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin had pointed out (though differing from each other in details) that there were three groups of idioms : a *kāvya* may be composed in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa. Rudraṭa mentions six languages, saying (*Kāvyālaṃkāra* II, 11, 12) :

12 The term *āhuḥ* seems to indicate that the *Bṛhatkathā* was already unknown even to Daṇḍin. I do not believe that the plural *sarvabhāṣābhiḥ* is of a peculiar significance (Prof. J a c o b i, *Bhavisattakahā*, p. 42). One must bear in mind that the above quoted stanza refers directly to Bhāmaha I, 28. Bhāmaha had taught that the *kathā* (with regard to which more will be said later on) is composed in Sanskrit and, partly, in Apabhraṃśa. Daṇḍin replies : no, that is not correct ; it is composed in all languages and in Sanskrit. The term *saṃskṛtena ca* is nothing more than an appended note with a delicately hinted irony against Bhāmaha.

bhūyo'pi,
bhāṣābhedanimittaḥ ṣoḍhā bhedo'sya sambhavati.
prākṛtasaṃskṛtamāgadhapiśācabhāṣāś ca sūrasenī ca,
ṣaṣṭho'tra bhūribhedo deśaviśeṣād apabhraṃśaḥ.

"Further, there is a sixfold division of the (*vākya*) according to the languages; these are: Prakrit, Sanskrit, Māgadha, Piśāca, and Sūrasenī; the sixth, Apabhraṃśa is divided into many kinds according to the various countries".

From this it is evident that '*Prākṛta*' does not denote a group of languages, but rather one language, the same one as mentioned by Daṇḍin, which appears to have frequently been used in poetical compositions, the *Māhārāṣṭrī*. For if that were not the case it would be impossible to explain, why *Māhārāṣṭrī* is not mentioned by Rudraṭa. *Māgadha* was not named by Daṇḍin, perhaps because it was of less importance as a literary idiom in his time. *Apabrhaṃśa* is, on the whole, probably the same as that *Apabhraṃśa* in the *Kāvyādarśa*, when it is spoken of in *kāvyas* (not in *śāstras*).

The older Vāgbhaṭa has the following remarks about the languages (*Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* II, 1-3):

"Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa, and the language of the *Bhūtas*: these four languages become the body of the *kāvya*.

Sanskrit is the language of the gods; it is settled in the grammars. Prakrit is variously divided, as far as it originates in (Sanskrit) is similar to it, differing with respect to dialects etc.

Apabhraṃśa, in its pure shape, is spoken in various regions. What is spoken by the Bhūtas (the Piśācas) is called *Bhauta*'(*Paiśācika*)".

Thus Vāgbhaṭa comprises by the term *Prākṛta* several idioms, which, however, are in some way or other connected with Sanskrit. According to the commentary of Siṃhadevagaṇi *Śaurasenī* and *Māgadhī* is meant by *ādi*. Prakrit is set in contrast to *Apabhraṃśa*. In its pure form it is found, says the commentary, in the countries of the *Karṇāṭas* and *Pāñcālas*. With regard to the last group, the *Bhauta* or *Paiśācī* is little known. Vāgbhaṭa was perhaps thinking of the *Bṛhatkathā*, which was referred to already by Daṇḍin.

In a supplementary way (because they have nothing to do with the division of poetry) some very interesting observations of Rājaśekhara concerning the different kinds of recitation may be mentioned here[13]. After dealing the mode of recitation (*pāṭha*) generally the author goes on to point out what sorts of recitation are peculiar to the different countries. People from Magadha and others from the country lying eastward of Benares have a good pronunciation of Sanskrit, but are 'blunt (*kuṇṭha*)' when they speak Prakrit. Of the *Gauḍas*, Rājaśekhara does not speak well. Their recitation of Prakrit is, according to him, very bad. The *Gauḍa* Brahmins recite neither very distinctly (*atispaṣṭa*), nor 'legato (*āśliṣṭa*)', neither roughly (*rūkṣa*) nor very tenderly (*atikomala*), neither with a high (*atitāra*) nor with a deep (*mandra*) voice. *Karṇāṭas* recite, whichsoever the *rasa*, the *rīti*, or the *guṇa* may be, with an elevated, and at the end, with a twanging voice (*ṭaṃkāra*). All Dravidian poets in verse as well as in prose compositions use a

13 *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, 7th *adhyāya*.

musical mode of recital (*geyagarbhe sthitaḥ pāṭhe sarvo'pi draviḍaḥ kaviḥ*). The author is very pleased with the beautiful Prākṛta-pronunciation of the *Lāṭas*, who hate Sanskrit[14]. The *Surāṣṭras*, *Travaṇas*, and others recite Prakrit well, but their way of speaking Sanskrit has something of an *Apabhraṃśa* note[15]. The people of Kashmir, says Rājaśekhara, are good poets but the author ridicules their pronunciation, which sounds, he says, as if they had the mouth full of Guḍūcīs[16]. The poets who dwell westward of them, in *Uttarāpatha*, though well educated, speak with a nasal twang (*sānunāsikapāṭhinaḥ*). Finally, Rājaśekhara praises the beautiful (*subhaga*) recitation of the *Pāñcālas*, for whom he shows great sympathy also elsewhere.

### 3. *The Subject matter.*

With respect to the division based upon the subject matter, Bhāmaha says (I, 17) :

"The *kāvya* is also fourfold, as it praises the past deeds of gods etc., or the subject matter is to be invented (by the poet), or the subject matter is formed by the arts, or (finally) by the *śāstras*.

Though the *alaṃkāraśāstra*, after the time of Bhāmaha, has not conserved this division of poetry, we shall come back to these ideas more than once later on.

14 Paṭhanti laṭabhaṃ lāṭāḥ prākṛtaṃ saṃskṛtadviṣaḥ,
jihvayā lalitollāpalabdhasaundaryamudrayā.

15 Apabhraṃśāvadaṃśāni te saṃskṛtavacāṃsy api.

16 Śāradāyāḥ prasādena kaśmīraḥ sukavir janaḥ,
karṇe guḍūcīgaṇḍūṣas teṣāṃ pāṭhakramaḥ kimu.

### 4. *Sargabandha*, *Abhidhānārtha*, *Ākhyāyikā*, *Kathā*, *Anibaddha*.

This division of poetry is much more important than the previous ones. Bhāmaha says (I, 18):

"*Kāvya* etc. is said to be fivefold: *sargabandha*, *abhidhānārtha*, *ākhyāyikā*, *kathā*, and *anibaddha*".

#### *A*. *Sargabandha*, a composition which is divided into *sargas*.

I, 19-23:

"*Sargabandha* is a *mahākāvya*, dealing with great (persons)[17], large, the words of which are not vulgar[18], which has good sense, adorned with figures of speech, based on real events[19]; it is endowed with the description of a counsel-meeting, of (the sending of) a messenger, of a campaign, of a battle, and of the (final) triumph of the hero; it is furnished with the five *sandhis*[20], needs no extensive explana-

17 In a stanza mentioned below, note 30, on p. 143 there is said:
mahākāvyaṃ prayoktavyaṃ mahāpuruṣakīrtiyuk.

18 *Grāmya* is well explained by Vāmana II, 1, 7: lokamātraprayuktaṃ grāmyam.

19 As 'real' must of course also be considered such tales met in the *itihāsas*, which bear the stamp of reality on account of the holiness of tradition. *Itihāsas* are in contrast to such tales which have originated in the poet's imagination.

20 The term *sandhi* is taken from the drama. Compare *Daśarūpa* I, 34 ff. The five *sandhis* are: *mukha*, *pratimukha*, *garbha*, *avamarṣa* (Bharata: *vimarṣa*), *upasaṃhṛti* (Bharata: *nirvahaṇa*). See also Bharata, *Nāṭyaśāstra* XIX, 35ff. The question cannot be discussed here, whether all the five *sandhis* are necessary for a *kāvya*. At any rate we see from the words of Bhāmaha to which degree later poetics have been influenced by the older doctrine of the drama.

tion, is rich (with poetical value); though it has to do with all the four *vargas* (*dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, *mokṣa*), it gives, above all, instruction in *artha*. It describes things as they happen in the world, and it is endowed with all *rasas*, (but) separately. The poet, after having described the hero's race, energy, fame etc., should not describe his destruction in order to praise thereby the high qualities of another person. If the hero is not described in such a way that he fills the body of the *kāvya* throughout, then, indeed, the mention of him in the eulogy in the beginning (of the *kāvya*) is in vain".

The last two stanzas do not touch on the definition of the *mahākāvya* (*sargabandha*). They have been caused by some differences of views, which will be clearer only after having learned Daṇḍin's account concerning the matter.

Daṇḍin's treatment of it is based on Bhāmaha's. He says (*Kāvyādarśa* I, 14—19):

alaṃkṛtam asaṃkṣiptaṃ rasabhāvanirantaram,
sargair anativistīrṇaiḥ śravyavṛttaiḥ susandhibhiḥ.
sarvatra bhinnavṛttāntair upetaṃ lokarañjakam,
kāvyaṃ kalpāntarasthāyi jāyeta sadalaṃkṛti.

"*Sargabandha* is a *mahākāvya*[21]. These are its peculiarities: It begins with an *āśis*, a *namaskriyā*, or an indication of the contents[22]. It is based on

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21 Tarkavāgīśa: mahākāvyaṃ sargabandhaḥ, tasya sargair nibadhyamānatvāt.

22 *Āśis* is the benediction (Tarkavāgīśa: *āśiḥ iṣṭajanasya śubhāśaṃsanam*. Compare *Kāvyādarśa* II, 357, where *āśis* is defined as an *alaṃkāra*. *Namaskriyā* is the respectful salutation). Tarkavāgīśa mentions that the *Kīcakavadha*

a story from the *itihāsas*[23], or on another theme, based on a fact[24]; it is endowed with the success of the four *vargas*[25]. The hero is clever and exalted[26]. It is adorned with descriptions of a town, of the ocean, of a mountain, of a season, of the rising of sun and moon[27], further, of sport in park or in water, of drinking, of love-feasts, of separations[28], of weddings, of the development of a son, with descriptions, of a counsel-meeting, of (the sending) of a

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opens with an *āśis*, the *Raghuvaṃśa* with a *namaskriyā*, and the *Śiśupālavadha* with a *vastunirdeśa*.

23 Above all *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* as Tarkavāgīśa and Vidyāsāgara say.

24 Tarkavāgīśa says that the telling of an invented story in the *mahākāvyas* is prohibited (sadāśrayam ity anena kalpitavṛttāntasya mahākāvye varṇanaṃ pratiṣiddham); and Vidyāsāgara: itarad rāmāyaṇamahābhāratādivyatiriktam api etena asatyavṛttaṃ mahākāvye na varṇanīyam iti pradarśitam,

25 The commentary adds that it is not possible that all the four *vargas* succeed in one place. Thus the poet should describe all the four *vargas* indeed, but the fruit of only one among them (tathā caturṇāṃ dharmārthakāmamokṣāṇāṃ vargaś caturvargaḥ, tadrūpeṇa phalena prayojanenopetam ekarta caturṇāṃ phalatvāsambhavāt sarve punar varṇanīyāḥ paraṃ tv anyatamam eva phalam iti mantavyam, uktaṃ ca catvāras tatra vargāḥ syus teṣv ekaṃ ca phalaṃ bhaved iti).

26 Tarkavāgīśa: tathā caturo vyavahārakuśala udātto dhīrodātto nāyakaḥ kathāvyāpipradhānapuruṣo yatra tat.

27 Of course the description of sun and moon-set, too, though it is not mentioned expressly by Daṇḍin.

28 The plural is used (says Tarkavāgīśa) in order to indicate that there are several kinds of separation (vipralambhair iti bahuvacanena tasya pūrvarāgamānapravāsakaruṇātmakatayā caturvidhatvaṃ sūcitam.

messenger, of a campaign, of a battle, and of the final triumph of the hero[29]; it is not too compressed (with respect to the description), is penetrated thoroughly by the *rasas* (sentiments) and *bhāvas* (emotions), divided into *sargas* which are not too long[30], endowed with metres agreeable to the ear[31], at the end of which the metre changes[32], and the *sandhis* of which are good[33]: such a *kāvya* that has

29 Tarkavāgīśa: mantrādipañcakaṃ kramikaṃ tathā hi prathamaṃ mantraṇā tato dūtapreṣaṇaṃ tataḥ prayāṇaṃ tato yuddhaṃ tataś ca ripujayādirūpābhyudayaḥ.

30 Vidyāsāgara thinks that by *anativistīrṇaiḥ* the number of the *sargas* (not the length) is meant: śāstraniyamitāṣṭādibhiḥ tad uktam Īśānasaṃhitāyām :—

aṣṭasargān natu nyūnaṃ triṃśatsargāc ca nādhikaṃ,
mahākāvyaṃ prayoktavyaṃ mahāpuruṣakīrtiyuk.

31 śravyavṛttair iti hatavṛttatādidoṣaparityāgena mādhuryādiguṇasadbhāvena ca vairasyānāvahaśrutisukhadavṛttair ity arthaḥ, says Tarkavāgīśa.

32 Tarkavāgīśa has a twofold interpetation, the first being: *bhinnavṛttāntaiḥ pṛthakpṛthag avāntarakathāprakāśakaiḥ.* According to this, the poet should insert some episodical stories, but that is certainly not correct. The second interpretation alone is the correct one :

yadā bhinnaṃ vṛttaṃ pṛthakchandonibaddhaḥ śloko' 'nte' avasāne yeṣāṃ taiḥ, ekena chandasā sargaṃ nirmāya chando 'ntareṇa samāpayed ity arthaḥ, uktaṃ ca ekavṛttamayaiḥ padyair avasāne 'nyavṛttakaiḥ.

33 One might be inclined to translate *susandhibhiḥ* by "the connections of which are good", *i.e.*, the connection between the end of one and the beginning of the next *sarga* should be pleasing, unconstrained, and natural (as Tarkavāgīśa comments: susandhibhiḥ suśliṣṭasandhānaiḥ bhāvisargasāpekśair ity arthah. Vidyāsāgara is of the same opinion). There can be no doubt, however, that Daṇḍin takes up Bhā-

good *alaṃkāras* and that (on account of its being as described) delights the world, may last till the end of the *kalpa*."

Comparing these words with Bhāmaha's description of the *mahākāvya*, Daṇḍin's dependance on Bhāmaha is evident. Several terms are borrowed verbatim, as *sargabandho*, *mahākāvyam*, *sadāśrayam*, *mantradūtaprayāṇājināyakābhyudayaiḥ*. As a matter of course, Daṇḍin, on the one hand, is anxious to complete the definition of Bhāmaha and on the other, to omit what in his opinion are no characteristic features of this kind of composition, as the terms *agrāmyaśabda* and *arthya*. These are indeed superfluous as they are characteristic not only of the *sargabandha* but also of the other sorts of poetry. There are new points, Daṇḍin thinks, necessary for the definition of *mahākāvya*: so that the poet should begin with an *āśis*, a *namaskriyā*, or a *vastunirdeśa*. Whether *bhāvas* and *rasas* are of importance even for *sargabandha*-compositions or not, is a question which is perhaps not answered in the affirmative for the *bhāva* has its proper place in the drama, on account of which the doctrine of *bhāva* is developed in the books dealing with the dramas. As to the *rasas* they belong originally to the drama too, but they have been transferred to the *kāvya* already

maha's *pañcabhiḥ sandhibhir yuktam* again and that it must be translated as above; and in this sense is Tarkavāgīśa's second interpretation: yad vā sandhayo nāṭakalakṣaṇoktā mukha-pratimukha-garbha-vimarṣa-nirvahaṇākhyāḥ pañca. See also *Sāhityadarpaṇa* VI, 317, where the author says expressly: *nāṭakasandhayaḥ*.

very early. Some three 'sentiments' are even considered, but certainly erroneously, as *alaṃkāras*[34]. Regarding the things the poet should describe in the *mahākāvya*, Daṇḍin goes into more detail than Bhāmaha. As a matter of fact all the famous *mahākāvyas* contain such episodic descriptions as are mentioned in the *Kāvyādarśa*. They are typical of the *sargabandha* and ought not to be wanting therein. Therefore they must be named, as is done by Daṇḍin. Bhāmaha has mentioned only those descriptions which form, so to speak, the political content of the *kāvya*. That this must be considered as the foundation may be gathered from the fact that Daṇḍin simply quotes the exact words of Bhāmaha concerning this matter. The four *vargas* among which *artha* is preferred by Bhāmaha, are of similar significance. Bhāmaha says nothing about the metre. The postulation, that at the end of every *sarga* the metre has to change, is not quite new. There are some cases in the Vedic hymns where the poets like to wind up with one or more stanzas the metre of which is not the same as that of the preceding verses[35]. In the later literature we find the same method almost everywhere. This change of metre appears to have taken place to suggest to the hearer the

34 *Preyas, Rasavat, Ūrjasvin*; *Kāvyādarśa* II, 275.

35 Compare H. Oldenberg: Die Hymnen des Rigveda. Vol. 1, Metrische und textgeschichtliche Prolegomena, pp. 441ff.—There is, to mention it by the way, a second method of indicating the end of a chapter, *viz.*, to repeat the last words. Thus we find it in the Upaniṣads. One must, however, bear in mind that these are, for the greater part, prose texts.

coming end of the *sarga*[36]. The want of punctuation is supplied as it were in that way.

According to Daṇḍin the poet has to draw attention to and to be aware of very many things, so that a young poet may become discouraged, if he has to fulfil conscientiously all requirements. But he need not be so. Daṇḍin continues comforting the poet by the words (I, 20).

nyūnam apy atra yaiḥ kaiścid aṅgaiḥ kāvyaṃ na duṣyati,
yady upātteṣu sampattir ārādhayati tadvidaḥ.

"When some of these components are wanting, a *kāvya* does not become bad, if only the success in those things which are described satisfies the learned."

Up to this point we find no great difference between Daṇḍin's teaching and that of Bhāmaha, but as to the *nāyaka*, the hero of the *kāvya*, the views of both scholars diverge from each other. The way Bhāmaha deals with the hero leaves little doubt that he opposes an opinion of some other *ālaṃkārikas* before or contemporary with him. The poem, says Bhāmaha, should end with the hero's triumph; it would be absurd, if the poet praised the excellences of some other person in the *kāvya*, through whom the chief-*nāyaka* would perish finally. Daṇḍin, always desirous to go against Bhāmaha, says (I, 21, 22):

guṇataḥ prāg upanyasya nāyakaṃ tena vidviṣām,
nirākaraṇam ity eṣa mārgaḥ prakṛtisundaraḥ.

36 Though this need not be proved I may draw attention to the fact that even in earlier times (*e.g.* by the author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*) the whole domain of *kāvya* is divided into *śravya* and *dṛśya*, poetry to be heard and poetry to

vaṃśavīryaśrutādīni varṇayitvā ripor api,
tajjayān nāyakotkarṣavarṇanaṃ ca dhinoti naḥ.

"It is a naturally pleasant way, if the hero, after his excellent qualities have been described, conquers his enemies. But we are, on the other hand, pleased, too, when the poet, after he has set forth the race, heroism, fame, etc. even of the enemy, describes the brilliant qualities of the *nāyaka*, so that he vanquishes the (so described) enemy."

The partly literal congruence of these two stanzas with Bhāmaha's I, 22[37] makes it evident that Daṇḍin blames no one else but Bhāmaha, though in this case, the words of Daṇḍin do not bear the stamp of open aggression[38]. There Daṇḍin's hidden attack shows again a peculiar form, twisting the meaning of Bhāmaha's words, for, according to the *Kāvyādarśa* we would assume that Bhāmaha had stated that the poet should not make the enemy's (*pratināyaka*) excellent qualities the subject of a detailed description. But this is not so. For, though in the opinion of Bhāmaha the *nāyaka* ought to wholly 'fill' the body of the *kāvya*, the chief point is this that the poet should not describe the hero's fall in order to

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be seen. The *mahākāvyas* etc. belong to the former, the *nāṭakas* to the latter sort of poetry.

37 Daṇḍin: *guṇataḥ prāg upanyasya nāyakam*, Bhāmaha: *nāyakaṃ prāg upanyasya*. Daṇḍin: *vaṃśavīryaśrutādīni*, Bhāmaha: *vaṃśavīryaśrutādibhiḥ*, this last is comprised in Daṇḍin's *guṇataḥ*. Even Daṇḍin's *nāyakotkarṣavarṇanaṃ* refers obviously to Bhāmaha's *anyotkarṣābhidhitsayā*.

38 Thus Tarkavāgīśa, who did not know the work of Bhāmaha, could not see any polemical tendency in the above mentioned stanzas of Daṇḍin.

praise thereby the excellent qualities of his enemy. That this is the standpoint of Bhāmaha is proved by the tenor of stanza I, 23.

While Vāmana has not given a definition of *mahākāvya*, because in his opinion the division of *kāvya* into *kathā*, *ākhyāyikā*, and *mahākāvya* is of no special interest[39], Rudraṭa presents a very exhaustive description of it. This scholar considers the poetical compositions as twofold, *utpādya* and *anutpādya* as far as the subject of the poem is invented by the poet himself or is taken from the *itihāsas*[40]. The *mahākāvya* is an *utpādya* composition, and described by the stanzas (XVI, 7—18):

"As to the *utpādya* composition one may in the *mahākāvyas* begin with the description of a beautiful town. Then, (the poet) should praise the descent of the hero therein (in that town). He must set forth a hero who follows the three *vargas* (*dharma, artha, kāma*), who possesses the three abilities (*prabhuśakti, mantraśakti, utsāhaśakti*[41]), and all the excellent qualities, whose subjects are devoted to him[42], who

39 *Vṛtti* to I, 3, 22: yad uta kathākhyāyike mahākāvyam iti, tallakṣaṇaṃ ca nātīva hṛdayaṅgamam ity upekṣitam asmābhiḥ, tad anyato grāhyam.

40 *Kāvyālaṃkāra* XVI, 2, 3. A second division is given in XVI, 2-6: *mahat* and *laghu*. These compositions are taken as *mahat*, where all the four *vargas* and all *rasas* are to be found. This division and many others of the later *ālaṃkārikas* too are of small importance and interest. In their endeavours to discover new ideas scholars could not be lucky in every case.

41 See e. g. *Raghuvaṃśa* III, 13; VI, 33; XVII, 63; *Śiśupālavadha* II, 26.

42 Or: whose ministers are devoted to him.

is desirous of victory. He should describe the whole kingdom of the hero, who rules in due form, and his behaviour as a king; if opportunity offers, he should (describe) a season, autumn, etc., in connection (with the hero). Out of the high families he should paint an adversary of the hero, who is anxious to promote the *dharma* both for himself and for his friends, (an adversary) who is endowed with excellent qualities. Hearing from his spy, who has been sent out by him, or from another side of enemy's intentions, (the hero) may cause excitement in the assembly of the kings (so that) their thoughts and speeches are inflamed by anger. After having consulted together with his ministers and having resolved that (this enemy) ought to be punished, then (the poet) should let the hero unertake a campaign or let him send a loquacious messenger. Then, when a campaign is undertaken, (the poet) should paint the excitement of the women in the town, (further) the mountains and rivers of the countries, the woods, the forests, the lakes, the deserts, the oceans, the *dvīpas* and the continents[43]. (The poet should further describe) the encampments of the army and, according to the circumstances, the sport of young people therein[44], the sunset, the dawn, the darkness, the rising of the moon, the night, and, therein, meetings, concerts, drinking, and love. In due time, the poet may resume (the thread of) his tale. In the same way he may describe the adversary, as he approa-

43 The other worlds, say Namisādhu.

44 Viz. in the woods, rivers, etc., which are enumerated in the previous lines.

ches, as he arrives, or as he, forced by circumstances, besieges a town. Then the poet should let the warriors, who fear death, send messages in the night, which they spend wholly in drinking, thinking that they have to die the next day, to their wives. When both (the hero and his enemy), after having prepared for the struggle, fight hard with each other, the poet should finally well describe the triumph of the hero."

If one compares this 'definition' with those of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, Rudraṭa's dependance on both becomes evident. However, though it is very long, Rudraṭa's definition can scarcely be called a progressive one. On the contrary, we miss various points in it, which are important marks of the composition called *mahākāvya*, as the occurrence of *alaṃkāras*, of *rasas*, the division into *sargas*, the change of the metre, while, on the other hand, the author introduces some points which are not inherent or necessary parts of the division. This is, however, sometimes a peculiarity of definition of the Indian theorists, whatever their speciality be, that they draw some points of a more incidental and accessory character into their definitions and do not render the real essential features prominent enough, though they are very seldom entirely left out.

In spite of the similarity of the definition of both Daṇḍin (and Bhāmaha) and Rudraṭa, there is, really, a small divergence, though, perhaps, more theoretically than practically. It has already been mentioned, that, according to Rudraṭa, the *mahākāvya* belongs to *utpādya*-poetry, that is, that the poet

himself is the inventor of the subject-matter of the *kāvyaśarīra*. But Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin have said that the *kāvyas* should be based on facts, to which also such stories as are sanctioned by tradition and are told of *e. g.* in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* belong. It is true, however, that these older scholars already thought of a more stereotyped form, when they speak of *mantradūtaprayāṇājināyakābhyudaya.*

These are more general outlines allowing the poet a wider scope in the development of the story as a whole. All the other points mentioned by Bhāmaha and, still more in detail by Daṇḍin, are meant to give a poetical charm to the description of the story. The impression we gain from Rudraṭa's statements is different. He prescribes so to speak, a norm for the development of the story. Thereby the story itself is pushed into the background and the poetical ornament is considered the main point of the *mahākāvya.* The action ceases to be interesting compared with the way it is told in. Thus, the working poet has to concentrate his whole attention on the form, to which he should give his own individual stamp.

The definition of *mahākāvya* has scarcely altered in course of time. Some five hundred years after Rudraṭa the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*[45] says as follows:

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45 The author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* divides the whole domain of *kāvya* into many parts. Though this subdivision is only of smaller interest, it may be given here shortly, because Viśvanātha appears to have borrowed from older works. The *kāvya* is (I)*dṛśya* (to be seen) and (II) *śravya* (to be heard). The drama belongs to the first kind, and is divided in many ways. The *śravya-kāvya* is (i) *padya* (in verse) and (ii) *gadya* (in prose). The description of *padya* is introduced by an account

"An arrangement of *sargas* is called *mahākāvya*. The one hero therein is a god or a *kṣatriya* of noble family, firm, exalted, endowed with good qualities[46], or there may be several heroes: princes sprung from one [47] race, of a noble origin. Among the

of the names given to one detached stanza and collections of stanzas: *muktaka* (one stanza), *yugmaka* (two), *sandānitaka* (three,) *kalāpaka* (four), and *kulaka* (five stanzas, which form one whole). Then *padya* is subdivided: (1) *sargabandha* = *mahākāvya* (example: *Raghuvaṃśa, Śiśupālavadha, Naiṣadha*, "my *Rāghavavilāsa*"); (2) *ākhyāna* (when the *sargas* are composed by a *ṛṣi*: (*Mahābhārata*); (3) *āśvāsa* (when the *sargas* are written in Prakrit, the metre being mostly *āskandaka, galitaka*: (*Setubandha*, "my *Kuvalayāśvacarita*"); (4) *kaḍavaka* (when the *sargas* are written in Apabhraṃśa: (*Karṇaparākrama*). (5) *Kāvya* (written in many languages and not divided into *sargas*: (*Bhikṣāṭana, Āryāvilāsa*); (6) *khaṇḍakāvya* (when the conditions of the *mahākāvya* definition are only partly fulfilled: (*Meghadūta*); (7) *koṣa* (a collection of stanzas which do not depend on each other: (*Muktāvalī*). As to *gadya*, the author remarks that there are four kinds of prose: *muktaka* (without compounds), *vṛttagandhi* (containing metrical parts), *utkalikāprāya* (long compounds), and *cūrṇaka* (short compounds). With regard to that one may compare Vāmana's treatment of *gadya*, (see above p. 127). *Gadya* is divided into: 1 *kathā*, 2 *ākhyāyikā*, 3 *campū* (in prose and in verse, as the *Daśarājacarita*), 4 *biruda* (praise of a king, in prose and in verse: *Birudamaṇimālā*), 5 *kasambhaka* (in different languages: "my *Praśastiratnāvalī*, composed in sixteen languages").

46 Pramadādāsa Mitra translates: "characterized by firmness and generosity of heart" but we must separate *udātta* from *guṇa*, as is suggested also by the corresponding words of Daṇḍin.

47 Though *eka* can also be rendered by "excellent", the above given translation seems to be better. Of course, the

*rasas*, *śṛṅgāra* (love), *vīra* (heroism) and *śānta* (calmness) one should be the chief *rasa* and all (the other) *rasas* should be subordinate to it. (The *mahākāvya*) contains all *sandhis* of the drama. The story is founded upon the *itihāsas* or another one, (but of such a kind that) it is connected with good persons. It contains the four *vargas* (*dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, *mokṣa*), and of these the poet should describe one as being the goal[48]. In the beginning there is a *namaskriyā*, *āśis*, or *vastunirdeśa*[49]. Sometimes it opens with the reproof of bad men etc. and the praise of the excellent qualities of the good men. It consists of *sargas*, which are neither too short nor too long, more than eight[50] (*sargas*) everyone of which is

*nāyakas* must be connected in some way or other in order to save the unity of the action. It would be possible to compose a *kāvya* the heroes of which are both Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.

48 Pramadādāsa Mitra gives the following translation: "It has for its fruits (*i. e.* the final objects obtained by the hero or the like) all the four of the class consisting of the great objects of human desire, *viz.* Merit, Wealth, Enjoyment, and Liberation, or it has only one of them." But there is little doubt that the meaning is the following: Although the *mahākāvya* deals with all the four *vargas*, the fruit of only one of them is described.

49 Pramadādāsa Mitra renders *vastunirdeśa* by "or simply with the mention of a matter (leading into the main story of the poem)", but *vastu* is nothing more than the subject-matter of any poetical composition (Apte, Dictionary, s. v.]; *vastunirdeśa*, then, means contents. The *Raghuvaṃśa* begins with a *vastunirdeśa*.

50 From this interesting remark it appears that at the time of Viśvanātha, Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* was already

written in one metre, but there should be a change of the metre at the end (of the *sargas*). In some cases, however, a *sarga* composed in various kinds of metre is to be seen. At the end of the *sarga* there should stand a hint of what will happen in the next *sarga*. Dawn, sun, moon, night, evening, darkness, day, morning, midday, hunting, mountain, season, wood, joys of love, saparation, *muni*, heaven, town, sky[51], battle, campaign, wedding, counsel, birth of a son, etc., all that should be described together with *aṅgas* and *upāṅgas*[52], according to circumstances. The *mahākāvya* should receive its title after the poet, the hero, or some other, and the *sargas* should be named after what is described therein."

It is evident that this definition, which contains scarcely anything new, is dependent on Daṇḍin. Like Daṇḍin, Viśvanātha also begins with the words *sargabandho mahākāvyam. Ādau namaskriyā vastunirdeśa eva vā* is the same as: *āśir namaskriyā vastunirdeśo vāpi tanmukham* of the *Kāvyādarśa*; *itihāsodbhavaṃ vṛttam anyad vā sajjanāśrayam* repeats only Daṇḍin's *itihāsakathodbhūtam itarad vā sadāśrayam*[53]. Viśvanātha's *catvāras tasya vargāḥ syus teṣv ekaṃ ca*

enlarged and had more than eight *sargas*, for it has never been doubted that the *Kumārasambhava* must be considered as a *mahākāvya*.

51 Pramadādāsa Mitra renders *adhvara* by sacrifice.

52 i. e. everything that is connected with the just mentioned subjects either directly or indirectly.

53 The author, however, interprets the former part of *sad-āśraya* by "good." This is not the opinion of Daṇḍin.

*phalaṃ bhavet* corresponds to Daṇḍin's *caturvagaphalopetam,* and *sambhogavipralambhau* is only the inversion of *vipralambhair vivāhaiś ca*[54].

### B. *Abhineyārtha.*

The second kind of literary composition is '*abhineyārtha*', i. e. to be acted or dramatically represented. It is the *nāṭaka.* The writers on *alaṃkāra* agree that it should not be treated in the books on poetics but in those which deal with the dramatic art. Thus Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin refer the reader to the literature thereon. Bhāmaha says (I, 24):

"As regards the *nāṭaka,* which is divided into *dvipadī, śamyā, rāsaka, skandhaka,* etc., one says that it should be acted. Other scholars have treated (the nāṭaka) in detail."

And Daṇḍin, (*Kāvyādarśa* I, 31):

miśrāṇi nāṭakādīni teṣām anyatra vistaraḥ.

"Mixed (i. e. in prose and in verse) are the *nāṭakas* etc. A detailed description of them is to be found elsewhere"[55].

The same author notes in I, 37 that *naṭakas* are written in various languages.

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54 In the *Pratāparudrīya* (p. 96) the *mahākāvva* is described by the following words.

nagarārṇavaśailartucandrārkodayavarṇanam,
udyānasalilakrīḍāmadhupānaratotsavāḥ,
vipralambho vivāhaś ca kumārodayavarṇanam,
mantradūtaprayāṇājināyakābhyudayā api,
etāni yatra varṇyante tan mahākāvyam ucyate.

That is nothing else than the old definition, but a good deal more superficial.

55 It is worth noting that both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin use exactly the same term *vistara.*

V ā m a n a (I, 3, 30) only says that dramas (*daśa-rūpaka*) are the best of all literary compositions[56].

*C. Ākhyāyikā and Kathā.*

According to B h ā m a h a, both *ākhyāyikā* and *kāthā* are the third and fourth kind of composition. The author has (I, 25—29):

prakṛtānākulaśravyaśabdārthapadavṛttinā,
gadyena yuktodāttārthā socchvāsākhyāyikā matā.
vṛttam ākhyāyate tasyāṃ nāyakena svaceṣṭitam[57]
vaktraṃ cāparavaktraṃ ca kāvya-[58] bhāvyarthaśaṃsi ca.
kaver abhiprāyakṛtair aṅkanaiḥ kaiścid aṅkitā[59],
kanyāharaṇasaṃgrāmavipralambhodayānvitā.
na vaktrāparavaktrābhyāṃ yuktā nocchvāsavaty api,
saṃskṛtasaṃskṛtā[60] ceṣṭā kathāpabhraṃśabhāk tathā.
anyaiḥ svacaritaṃ tasyāṃ nāyakena tu nocyate,
svaguṇāviṣkṛtiṃ kuryād abhijātaḥ kathaṃ janaḥ.

"That kind of literary composition is called (*ākhyāyikā*), which is composed in prose, the words of which

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56 *Daśarūpaka* is, in the opinion of Vāmana, the wider, the first group of which is the *nāṭakas*.

57 Quoted by Tarkavāgīśa in his commentary to *Kāvyādarśa* I, 24; the second line (with the v.l. *yasyāṃ* for *tasyāṃ*) also by Vidyāsāgara commenting on the same stanza of Daṇḍin's.

58 Thus we may read instead of *kāle*. Śaṅkara, commenting on the tenth introductory stanza of the *Harṣacarita*, quotes the verse in this way: *etasmin* (viz. in the metre *vaktra*) *ākhyāyikākṛdbhir bhāvivastusaṃsūcanāya vāg viracyate, tathā ca Bhāmahaḥ, vaktraṃ cāparavaktraṃ ca kāvye kāvyārthaśaṃsini iti.* From this sentence the correct reading must be concluded.

59 T r i v e d ī: °kṛtaiḥ kathā (tha ?) naiḥ kaiścid aṅkitā. Tarkavāgīśa (commentary to *Kāvyādarśa* I, 30) quotes the line as follows: *kaver abhiprāyakṛtair aṅkanair aṅkitā kathā.*

60 T r i v e d ī. has *saṃskṛtaṃ saṃskṛtā.*

(as the bearers of ideas) express the matter intended, the meaning of which is not confused, and the words of which (as combinations of sounds) are pleasant to the ear, and which is divided into *ucchvāsas*[61].

In the (*ākhyāyikā*) the hero himself narrates his deeds. (Stanzas written in the metre) *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* indicate what will happen next in the (course of the) *kāvya*.

The *kathā* shows characteristics which spring from the poet's imagination. It contains the description of the seizing of a girl, (the description) of a struggle, of the separation and the (final) triumph of the hero.[62]

It contains no (stanzas in the metre called) *vaktra* and *aparavaktra*, nor is it divided into *ucchvāsas*. It is written in Sanskrit, and also partly in *Apabhraṃśa*.

In the *kathā* other (persons) recount the deeds of the hero. For how should a well-educated man set forth his own excellent qualities !"

61 As to the meaning of the first line, one can be of a different opinion. I bring the adjectives *prakṛta*, *anākula*, and *śravya* together with *śabda*, *artha*, and *pada* respectively (*yathāsaṃkhyam*); then *vṛtti* must be connected with *pada* as well as with *śabda* and *artha*. *Prakṛta* in the sense of "belonging to the matter in question" is used very often by later writers on poetics, mostly however, in connection with *artha* (*prastuta* has the same meaning). *Prakṛta* does not occur elsewhere in Bhāmaha's work. I confess, however, that I am not wholly satisfied with the translation given above. Manuscript T gives *prasṛta* for *prakṛta* which does not render the meaning clearer.

62 Tarkavāgīśa (commentary to *Kāvyādarśa* I, 29) connects line 29b wrongly with the *ākhyāyikā*.

It is not possible to gain a thoroughly clear idea of *akhyāyikā* and *kathā* from these stanzas, but what we may gather from this short account, is, probably, the following: Both *akhyāyikā* and *kathā* are written in prose (*gadya*). As to their tenor, these two kinds of compositions differ from each other on this point that the subject-matter of the *akhyāyikā* is what is experienced by the hero himself. This being the case, there is no restraint concerning the matter of the composition. The tenor of the *kathā*, on the other hand, is much more stereotyped in its outlines. The theme, or rather the disposition, is given: the seizing of a girl, a struggle caused by it, the separation of the two lovers, and finally and as a matter of course, the triumph of the hero, i. e. the happy union of the hero with his beloved wife. From this it is obvious that the poet's imagination takes a prominent part as regards the formation of the plot within the prescribed main points of the whole; and this is apparently meant by the author's words: *kaver abhiprāyakṛtair aṅkanaiḥ kaiścid aṅkitā.* In the *ākhyāyikā* we have only to do with events which have really happened. Another remarkable distinction is the fact that in the *ākhyāyikā* the hero himself is the narrator or, if we dare say so, the reporter of his own deeds and experiences, while in the *kathā* the speaker is another person. Further, the *ākhyāyikā* is divided into several chapters which are called *ucchvāsas*. These *ucchvāsas* open with some verses in the metre named *vaktra* and *aparavaktra*, perhaps a couple of stanzas[63], the former in *vaktra*, the latter

63 I may be allowed to assume this from the terms

in *aparavaktra*, which in some way or other point to what will be the tenor of the *ucchvāsa* in question. The *kathā* is not divided into chapters (*ucchvāsas*), nor are there stanzas in *vaktra* and *aparavaktra*. As regards the language there is an interesting remark of Bhāmaha to the effect that the *kathā* is written in Sanskrit and, besides that, in *apabhraṃśa*. Taking into consideration what has been gathered from Bhāmaha I, 16, he does not mean a single language here by the term *apabhraṃśa* but the Prakrit idioms in general. It is possible, though it cannot be proved, that Bhāmaha's prototype of *kathā* was the famous *Bṛhatkathā*, which according to Daṇḍin was composed in the *Paiśācī* language

Bhāmaha's treatment of *ākhyāyikā* and *kathā* as two different kinds of *gadya* poetry is sharply criticized by D a ṇ ḍ i n, who says (*Kāvyādarśa* I, 23, 24):

apādaḥ padasantāno gadyam ākhyāyikā kathā,
iti tasya prabhedau dvau tayor akhyāyikā kila,
nāyakenaiva vācyā 'nyā nāyakenetareṇa vā,
svaguṇāviṣkriyā doṣo nātra bhūtārthaśaṃsinaḥ.

"*Gadya* is a series of words without metre. *Ākhyāyikā* and *Kathā* are considered as two different kinds of it (*gadya*). Of these two the *ākhyāyikā* is to be narrated only by the hero alone, the other (*kathā*) by the hero or another person. Therein the setting forth of one's own excellent qualities cannot be taken as a fault of the *nāyaka*, if he recounts real things".

Daṇḍin first deals with the interesting question regarding the person that by means of the poet's words narrates the story. The opinion of Bhāmaha, that

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*vaktra* and *aparavaktra*, and from the words: . . . *vaktrāparavaktre papāṭha* (Bāṇa's *Harsacarita* p. 115).

in the *kathā* the narrator is not the hero, is rejected by Daṇḍin, who states *nāyakena itareṇa vā.* In the same way Daṇḍin refuses to accept what Bhāmaha says in order to justify his idea that in the *kathā* another person than the hero should be the narrator: it is no fault when a person describes his own excellent qualities, supposing that he says the truth. There is one point, however, in which Daṇḍin agrees with Bhāmaha, viz. that in the *ākhyāyikā* the hero himself is the speaker, for if this were not the case, Daṇḍin must have mentioned it.

In the following three stanzas (I, 25-27) the author goes still farther in refusing to accept Bhāmaha's theories:

api tv aniyamo dṛṣṭas tatrāpy anyair udīraṇāt,
anyo vaktā svayaṃ veti kīdṛg vā bhedalakṣaṇam.
vaktraṃ cāparavaktraṃ vā socchvāsatvaṃ ca bhedakam,
cihnam ākhyāyikāyāś cet prasaṅgeṣu kathāsv api.
āryādivat praveśaḥ kiṃ na vaktrāparavaktrayoḥ,
bhedaś ca dṛṣṭo lambhādir ucchvāso vāstu kiṃ tataḥ.

"But farther, because also in the *ākhyāyikā* other persons (and not exclusively the hero himself) are speaking, no restriction can be seen regarding this point also. How can that be a distinctive mark whether another or himself is the speaker ?

If the employment of the metre called *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* or the division into *ucchvāsas* should be considered as distinctive attributes, I may reply that even in the *kathā*, the *āryā* etc. occur occasionally, why should not *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* occur also ? And the chapters may in this case be called *lambha* etc. in the second *ucchvāsa*, but what can be concluded from that ?"

As Daṇḍin gave a false interpretation of the words of Bhāmaha in the case of the *sargabandha*, so also here Daṇḍin intentionally misinterprets the passage in question. Bhāmaha does not deny that there are occasionally other speakers than the hero himself in the *ākhyāyikā*, but they have to be, of course, introduced by the *nāyaka*.

With respect to *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* as well as to the names of the chapters (*ucchvāsa*), Daṇḍin seems to be more correct. For, what have these quite subordinate things to do with the characteristic features of *ākhyāyikā* and *kathā*? An examination of the question, however, shows that Daṇḍin also in this case takes another standpoint than that which is the correct one for Bhāmaha's treatment of the matter. Bhāmaha's words refer not to some stanzas in *vaktra* and *aparavaktra*, which occasionally occur in the story, but to those stanzas which form the headings of the chapters (*ucchvāsa*). The name of the metre (*vaktra* and *aparavaktra*) is by no means of the same importance, nor is the name of the chapters *ucchvāsa*; but there we meet with questions which will be examined later on.

Thus the author of the *Kāvyādarśa* insists that neither the person of the narrator, nor the kind of metre, nor the heading of the chapter is are essential peculiarity of *ākhyāyikā* on the one hand, and of *kathā* on the other. And so he says (I, 28ᵃ):

tat kathākhyāyikety ekā jātiḥ saṃjñādvayāṅkitā.

"Thus *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā* are only one sort of literary composition called by different names".

And, as Daṇḍin's commentator Tarkavāgīśa re-

marks, "with an overbearing manner", the author looks down rather contemptuously on the master and says (I. 28[b]):

atraivāntarbhaviṣyanti śeṣāś cākhyānajātayaḥ.

"And there will be contained also the other kinds of stories"[64].

After having shown that the "peculiarities" of Bhāmaha's *ākhyāyikā* have no distinctive character in reality, Daṇḍin goes on to prove that also what Bhāmaha teaches with respect to the *kathā* ought not to be accepted. According to Bhāmaha the description of the seizing of a girl etc. as well as some other "tokens" sprung from the author's imagination are characteristic features of the *kathā*. Daṇḍin replies (I, 29, 30):

kanyāharaṇasaṃgrāmavipralambhodayādayaḥ,
sargabandhasamā eva naite vaiśeṣikā guṇāḥ.
kavibhāvakṛtaṃ cihnam anyatrāpi na duṣyati,
mukham iṣṭārthasaṃsiddhau kiṃ hi na syāt kṛtātmanām.

"The description of the seizing of a girl, of a struggle, of the separation, of the hero's triumph, etc, met with in *sargabandhas*, too thus these are no distinctive qualities.

A special mark sprung from the poet's imagination is no fault also elsewhere. For what should

64 Tarkavāgīśa: atra atraivāntarbhaviṣyantīti bhāviprayogāt prauḍhivādenābhedapratipādanaṃ granthakṛto na tu vastutaḥ prāmāṇikatamair munibhir api tattadbhedābhyupagamāt, yathā, *āgneye*,—
"ākhyāyikā kathā khaṇḍakathā parikathā tathā
kathāllketi manyante gadyakāvyaṃ ca pañcadhā" iti,
evaṃ kathākhyāyikayor apy abhinnatvapratipādanam etanmūlakam evetī mantavyam.

not be a means for the learned ones respecting the complete attainment of the wished-for object" ?

Finally Daṇḍin rejects Bhāmaha's view concerning the languages (I, 38):

kathāpi sarvabhāṣābhiḥ saṃskṛtena ca badhyate,
bhūtabhāṣāmayīṃ prāhur adbhutārthāṃ bṛhatkathām.

The *kāthā*, too, is composed in all languages and in Sanskrit. The *Bṛhatkathā*, which contains wonderful things, is said to be written in the language of the *ghosts*"[65].

On a previous occasion it has been pointed out that the word *apabhraṃśa* is employed by Daṇḍin in a narrower sense than by Bhāmaha. This being the case Bhāmaha's words get, of course, another meaning; and this modified meaning of Bhāmaha's is rejected by Daṇḍin, when he uses the word *sarvabhāṣābhiḥ*.

The words *saṃskṛtena ca* of Daṇḍin can only be fully understood when they are compared with those of Bhāmaha. There is a shadow of irony in them; and Daṇḍin rejects Bhāmaha's theory concerning this point giving an example from literature by referring the reader to the *Bṛhatkathā*. Unfortunately we know only little about this work, which must have been well-known in the period of the *Kāvyādarśa*. That this story was composed in the *Paiśācī* language is also stated by other authors[66].

V ā m a n a, though mentioning the two kinds of *gadya ākhyāyikā* and *kathā*, gives no further defini-

65 *Paiśācī*.

66 See H a l l in the introductory pages of the edition of the *Vāsavadattā* (Calcutta 1859, *Bibliotheca Indica*).

tion of them, because this division of *kāvya* is in his eyes of no interest.

In spite of Daṇḍin's bitter attacks the younger writers on *alaṃkāra* were not willing to give up the theory of the old masters that two sorts of prose must be assumed. In fact the power of tradition was too strong to admit of alterations. Rudraṭa deals very exhaustively with the matter in question and gives the following account (XVI, 20-23):

"The poet, after having expressed his reverence for the desired gods and *gurus* in verse in the great *kathā*, should (also in verse) shortly[67] describe his own family and his authorship[68]. Then he should arrange in prose, which is endowed with *anuprāsas* and which has light syllables[69], the body of the *kathā* as before (in the *utpādyakāvyas*), viz. descriptions of towns, etc. In the *kathā* he should give in the beginning either another story, well developed, and then, in an easy manner the connecting link in order to come to the main tale, or he should (without giving another story before) arrange the *kathā* in Sanskrit and in another (language), but, in the latter case, not in prose, (the *kathā*) the end of which is the winning of a girl, wherein the whole *śṛṅgāra-rasa* (the sentiment of love) is rightly developed".

The account concerning the *ākhyāyikā* is still more detailed (*Kāvyālaṃkāra* XVI, 24-30):

"The poet after having, as before (*v.* 20), worshipped

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67 Which is done at length in the *ākhyāyikā*.

68 Namisādhu remarks: tena sujanakhalastutinindādikaṃ cābhidadhyād iti sūcyate.

69 Syllables with not too many consonants.

the gods and *gurus*, should praise the (former) poets in the *ākhyāyikā*, thinking that he is not able to compose a *kāvya*, after those (great poets) have existed. Then (as being the reason, why, notwithstanding, he proceeds to compose a *kāvya*) he may describe his devotion to the princes, or his fruitless effort to praise the excellent qualities of another, or he may give another, but not a trivial, reason, why he is composing the *ākhyāyikā*. Thereafter he should arrange the *ākhyāyikā* in prose as well as the *kathā*. And the poet may describe his own descent, but not in verse. As (the *mahākāvyas*) are divided into *sargas*, so he should divide (the *ākhyāyikā*) into *ucchvāsas*. In the opening of every (*ucchvāsa*), except the first[70], he may for the sake of the (main subject) mention two (verses in the) *āryā*-metre, which are connected with each other and the tenor of which is a general idea.

Should there be the occasion to utter a doubt concerning a present or a past object, which is hidden, or concerning a future object, though it is manifest, the poet, in order to dispel the doubt, should in the presence of the doubting person let some body quote one or two of the *alaṃkāras anyokti*, *samāsokti*, or *śleṣa*. In this case he should use one of the metres *āryā*, *aparavaxtra*, or *puṣpitāgrā*, or according to circumstances any other, mostly *mālinī*."

In spite of the very detailed description the definitions of both *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā* contain scarcely any new idea. As to the introductory stanzas, however, Rudraṭa gives some interesting remarks. Bhā-

70 Where the just mentioned rules are to be observed.

maha and Daṇḍin mentioned nothing on this matter, so that it is doubtful whether for the *ākhyāyikā* and *kathā* of that older period the quoting of such introductory stanzas was prescribed or not.

On the other hand a very important question is not touched on by Rudraṭa, *viz.* whether the hero himself or another person is the narrator. If this point had been of interest still in the time of Rudraṭa, he would have mentioned it. Thus we cannot but assume that the question concerning the narrator was no longer considered as a characteristic feature of one of the *gadya*-compositions. With this we have, however, arrived at a point regarding which more will be said later on.

Other important writers on *alaṃkāra* consider *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā* as two different kinds of prose-poetry. The author of the *Dhvanyālokalocana* mentions them occasionally, without giving, however, any further description. Dealing with the arrangement of words (*saṅghaṭanā*) Ānandavardhana states that the various sorts of *saṅghaṭanā* depend on the length of compounds. There are (the author says on p. 134) three kinds of *saṅghaṭanā*, whether no compounds, short compounds, or long compounds are found. Which of these three sorts should be used is determined by the sort of composition (p. 141). Under these literary compositions *sargabandha*, *abhineyārtha*, *ākhyāyikā*, and *kathā* are mentioned. These are the very same groups and in the very same arrangement as are found in the work of Bhāmaha. The rules regarding the prose compositions are of course different from those of the verse compo-

sitions. As to the prose all depends on the condition of the compounds. Thus the *ākhyāyikā* is characterised by short and long compounds. Though with respect to the *kathā* it is similar in general, it should be borne in mind that in this sort of composition the *rasas* are described (*sūtra* III, 8). Under these circumstances, those rules are valid for the suitableness (*aucitya*) of compounds here which are taught with respect to compositions dealing with the *rasas*. So, in the case of *śṛṅgāra-rasa* long compounds should be employed (p. 135), in the case of *raudra-rasa* compounds are wanting. Sometimes sentiments as love, sadness, anger, heroism occur also in the *ākhyāyikā*. Then, as a matter of course, the poet has to work according to the same rules, the arrangement of words depending always on the difference of *rasas*.

Viśvanātha gives the following account (*Sāhitya-darpaṇa* VI, 332-336ᵃ):

kathāyāṃ sarasaṃ vastu gadyair[71] eva virnirmitam.
kvacid atra bhaved āryā kvacid vaktrāpavaktrake,
ādau padyair namaskāraḥ khalāder vṛttakīrtanam.
Yathā *kādambaryādiḥ*.

71 We must read thus with the *Nirṇaya Sāgara Press* edition instead of *padyair*, as the reading is in the edition of the *Bibliotheca Indica*. The stanza is quoted with the correct reading by Krishnamachariar in the introduction to Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* (Srirangam 1906). Pramadādāsa Mitra translates as follows: "In the *kathā* (tale) which is one of the species of poetical composition in prose, a poetical matter is represented in verse, and, sometimes, the *Āryā* and, sometime, the *Vaktra* and *Aparavaxtra* are the metres employed in it." This gives a wrong idea of

Ākhyāyikā kathāvat syāt kaver vaṃśānukīrtaṇam,
asyām anyakvīnāṃ ca vṛttaṃ padyaṃ kvacit kvacit.
kathāṃśānāṃ vyavaccheda āśvāsa[72] iti badhyate,
āryāvaktrāpavaktrāṇām chandasā yena kenacit.
anyāpadeśenāśvāsamukhe bhāvyarthasūcanam.
Yathā *harṣacaritādiḥ*.

'api tv aniyamo dṛṣṭas tatrāpy anyair udīraṇāt' iti Daṇḍyācāryavacanāt kecit 'ākhyāyikā nāyakenaiva nibaddhavya' ity āhuḥ, tad ayuktam, ākhyānādayaś ca kathākhyāyikayor evāntarbhāvān na pṛthag uktāḥ, yad uktaṃ Daṇḍinaiva: atraivāntarbhaviṣyanti śeṣāś cākhyānajātayaḥ'. eṣām udāharaṇaṃ *pañcatantrādi*.

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*kathā*, as this translation is based on the incorrect reading *padyair*. Peterson (edition of *Kādambrī*, Introduction—Part II, p. 69) rejects the translation of Pramadādāsa Mitra and thinks that the meaning is: "When . . . we turn back to the description of *kathā*, we find that species of composition distinguished as a narration in prose, with here and there a stray verse or two, of matter already existing in a metrical form." The last words are the rendering of *padyair eva vinirmitam*. Even supposing that the reading *padyair* is correct I think it impossible to translate as Peterson does. As a matter of course, all the hypotheses Peterson founds on this rendering of his, need not be discussed. The same is the case with respect to what Miss Ridding says in the translation of the *Kādambarī*, p. XII.

72 Though in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* the chapters are not called *āśvāsa*, but *ucchvāsa*, I cannot alter *āśvāsa* to *ucchvāsa*. In an older dictionary, *Uttaratantra* by name, from which some passages are quoted by Śivarāma in his commenary to Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, we find the following remark: *ākhyāyikāparicchedа āśvāsocchvāsakāv api*. These words are quoted by L. H. Gray, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 24, first half, 1903, p. 60. But L. H. Gray separates incorrectly *ākhyāyikā pariččheda*.

"In the *kathā* a *rasa*-containing[73] subject is described in prose. Sometimes a stanza in the *kathā* may appear in the *āryā*-metre, sometimes stanzas in *vaktra* and *aparavaktra*. In the beginning there should stand in verse a *namaskriyā* and a description of the behaviour of bad people and so on.

Example : *Kādambarī* etc.

The *ākhyāyikā* is similar to the *kathā*. An account of the poet's race, and, sometimes, a description of the deeds of their poets is presented therein. The division of the separate parts of the story is made by chapters, the names of which are *āśvāsa*. The coming subject is indicated in any of the metres *āryā*, *vaktra*, or *aparavaktra* in the beginning, but in such a way that the poet takes another matter as pretext.

Example : *Harṣacarita* etc.

It is not right what some scholars say *viz.* that the *ākhyāyika* should be narrated by the hero. For Daṇḍin has taught: 'But farther because also in the *ākhyāyikā* other persons (and not exclusively the hero himself) are speaking, no restriction can be seen regarding also this point' (*Kāvyādarśa* I, 25). Because the other kinds of prose compositions *ākhyāna* etc. are contained in *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*, these are not described separately. For Daṇḍin has said: And there will be contained also the other kinds of stories.

Example : *Pañcatantra* etc."

73 Pramadādāsa Mitra translates *sarasaṃ vastu* by "a poetical matter", but the well-known "sentiments" *śṛṅgāra* etc. are meant.

In these last words *Viśvanātha* states his agreement with Daṇḍin, but, in spite of this fact, he does not revolve upon identifying *ākhyāyikā* and *kathā*. He goes only so far that he touches the theory of the narrator[74] in the definition no longer.

As a whole, Viśvanātha's definitions are not satisfactory. Nothing is said concerning the subject-matter, a very important point in the view of the older masters. What we may gather from this is that the real and old distinctions of both *ākhyāyikā* and *kathā* were forgotten very long ago.

After we have seen in which way the two main kinds of prose have been defined by the writers on *alaṃkāra*, we shall make an attempt whether it is possible or not to obtain an idea of the real state of *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*, what both have in common and in which points they differ from each other. Unfortunately we have no older authorities than Bhāmaha, for from Bhāmaha's treatment of the subject it appears that there had been discussions on the matter in question long before his time. It

74 The author of the *Pratāparudrīya* does not know *kathā*. After having defined *mahākāvya* he mentions that there are *gadya* and *padya-kāvyas*. An example for the former is the *Kādambarī*, for the latter the *Raghuvaṃśa*. Then he continues:

*asạrgabandham api yad upakāvavam udīryate,*
*asargabandharūpaṃ—sūryaśatakādi.*
*gadyapadyamayaṃ kāvyaṃ campūr ity abhīdhīyate,*
*vaktram aparavaktrṃ ca socchvāsatvaṃ ca bhedakam,*
*varnyate yatra kāvyajñair asāv ākhyāyikā matā.*

The *Harṣacarita* is considered as an example. It is evident that the author is influenced by *Daṇḍin.*

need not be proved that prose works must have existed before the period of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, which differed from each other on very important points, so that scholars were in a way right in calling these compositions by different names. The definitions given by the Indian scholars are, however, very often not of such a kind as to show what the real condition of things might have been, putting aside the chief characteristic features for points of less importance.

The *ākhyāyikā* seems to have been the older kind, out of which the *kathā* was developed as a peculiar form. In the opinion of the older masters four points are of particular importance; they are :

1 The subject matter,
2 The narrator,
3 The division into chapters called *ucchvāsa*, and
4 Stanzas in the metre called *vaktra* and *aparavaktra*, which open every *ucchvāsa* (but not the first) and indicate its content.

We will first consider the last two points. Apparently it is not right to see the essential part of the definition in the name of the chapter (*ucchvāsa*) and in the kind of the metre (*vaktra* and *aparavaktra*). But this is essential that the *ākhyāyikā* was divided into chapters (they were usually called *ucchvāsas*), and that there were stanzas at the beginning of every chapter, with the exception of the first (it was, however, usual to compose these in the metre called *vaktra* and *aparavaktra*), the pur-

pose of which stanzas was to give in one way or other a certain idea of what would happen in the *ucchvāsa* in question. The poet might be allowed, however, to quote some other stanzas; but these are of no importance for the disposition of the whole work, and have by no means anything to do with the characteristic features of the *ākhyāyikā*. In this incorrect way, however, the words of Bhāmaha are interpreted by Daṇḍin, who, as we have seen and shall see on other occasions, is always endeavouring to find fault with Bhāmaha.

In dealing with the introductory stanzas something must be said concerning the metres called *vaktra* and *aparavaktra*. Even their names show that both are to be closely connected with each other, though we are not able to find out their origin. *Vaktra* is probably the simple *śloka*. This we gather from the rules Piṅgala (*v.* 9) presents concerning this metre. The term *śloka* itself is not used by Piṅgala. In the older language the word *śloka* meant not a certain metre but was the term for metre generally. Then *vaktra* became later on the designation of a certain form of epic *śloka*. The *vaktra* verse we find *e.g.* in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, p. 125) differs from the usual *śloka* only in so far that the penultimate syllable of the second and of the fourth *pāda* are long. Except this difference the form of the second and fourth pāda is *pathyā*. Thus, the scheme of the *vaktra* is as follows:

⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ / – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏓ /
⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – – – / – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏓

I am inclind to assume that this metre rather is a younger invention, made when the term *śloka* was already employed instead of the old name. Now, the term *vaktra* is to be found in the old books on *alaṃkāra*, when *akhyāyikā* and *kathā* are spoken of. To do justice to these authoritative doctrines, the new metre *vaktra* was invented. The above mentioned stanza of Bāṇa's is combined with a second one in the metre called *aparavaktra*; both verses are introduced by the author's works: *vaktrāparavaktre papāṭha*, from which we conclude that both *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* were considered by Bāṇa as being connected in some way. In older times the form of *aparavaktra* was, however, not the same as later on, when in the *Chandaḥśāstra* the scheme was given as

⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑—⏑—⏑—⏑⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑—⏑⏓

⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑ —⏑—⏑—⏑⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑—⏑⏓.

As to the narrator of the story Bhāmaha had said that in the *ākhyāyika* the hero himself describes what he has done (*vṛttaṃ* ······ *svaceṣṭitam*). Regarding this point there seems to be a difficulty. For the fact that in the *kathā* another person, but not the *nāyaka*, is the narrator, is explained by Bhāmaha, who says that a well educated man is never inclined to sing his own praises. Is this not, however, the very same case as regards the *ākhyāyikā ?* Though here the hero himself recounts his deeds he is not blamed for doing so. But the case is far from being the very same. For, in the *ākhyāyikā* the hero relates real facts, which he has experienced himself, his own personal adventures (*vṛtta*). By doing so he gives, so to speak, an autobiography. Theoreti-

cally, he may describe not only his good but also his less good deeds and qualities. Thus we have not only to do with *guṇāviṣkriyā* here.

Matters are quite different in the *kathā*. The subject-matter of the *kathā* is invented, as we shall see afterwards. On account of this peculiarity the hero appears in quite a different light. As a matter of course he was presented as being endowed with as many excellent qualities as possible. When he had to be the speaker himself, then he could only praise his own good qualities. This was thought a fault (*doṣa*), because we have not to do with facts (*vṛtta*) here. It is in agreement with Daṇḍin's statement, that the praise of one's own good qualities is no fault, if the related story contains the truth.

The *ākhyāyikā*, then, is, as it were, an autobiography. Considering the matter from this point of view, and bearing in mind that the *kāvya* in all its forms was intended only to be heard, the first of the mentioned points, viz. that concerning the division into chapters called *ucchvāsas*, appears in a new light. There is a connection between the *ucchvāsas* called chapters and the narrator, the hero. The term *ucchvāsa* means verbatim breathing out. Referring to our case, it appears to be quite natural that the whole story can scarcely have been told by the narrator in one breath. Pauses were necessary, and so the whole story was divided into parts of such a length that the narrating person, the hero, could relate his story in an easy way. The name *ucchvāsa*, which meant originally pause, was later on transferred to the part from one pause to another, and

became finally the term for chapter. Every *ucchvāsa*, set forth in a poetical way, was with regard to its tenor, in some way or other complete in itself, and introduced by that couple of stanzas which has been spoken of above.

In the *ākhyāyikā* the hero himself narrates his own deeds. Bhāmaha's words regarding this are quite clear: *vṛttam ākhyāyate tasyāṃ nāyakena svaceṣṭitam.* Every word is of importance here: the subject-matter is not invented, but is based on real facts, it is recounted in a series of *ucchvāsas*; *ākhyāyate* is nothing more than the simple act of narrating, recounting, informing, as well as its derivations as *ākhyāna* etc. Because the hero recounts what he has experienced, this sort of prose composition is called *ākhyāyikā*.

The *kathā* is of quite a different nature. The subject-matter of the *kathā* is a more or less invented story. *Kathā* is the novel. The peculiarity of this kind of literary composition favoured the rising of more regular forms. In India this development was the easier as there always has been an inclination to create fixed schemes for all domains of human understanding. Thus, with respect to the *kathā* the case became similiar to that of the *mahākāvya* (*sargabandha*): The tenor losing its individuality was placed into the background, while the poetic embellishment took the first place. What was to be described in the *kathā* ? No longer *svaceṣṭita*, which was shown to the hearer in all its natural variety and in all its individual features, but the seizing of girl, a struggle, separation, and finally,

as a matter of course, the triumph of the hero. As in the *nāṭaka*, the happy ending of the plot is remarkable and characteris tic for all compositions. Free play was given to the poet's fancy. Bhāmaha mentions some "signs or tokens," *aṅkana*. It is, however, not easy to say what those *aṅkanas* were. Perhaps the poet only wished to say, that the *kathā* is characterized by descriptions which spring from the *kavi's* imagination. Daṇḍin replies (and some later writers have borrowed these obj ections) that such a description as *kanyāharaṇa* etc. are seen also in the *mahākāvya*, so that they ought not to be considered as peculiarities of the *kathā*. This is not right in this form, as it is again a false interpretation of Bhāmaha's words. It may be that in the *sargabandha*, too, similar descriptions are met with, but they take another rank therein. For, while those descriptions as we have seen are of a subordinate character in the *mahākāvya*, the main content of which is not a love-story but rather a poetical account of the deeds of a god or a king, in the *kathā* they are the very basis of the composition. Besides that, the mode of expression is so widely different in these two kinds of composition, tnat this fact alone would justify calling both by different names.

The *kathā* is, if we may be allowed to say so, a novel. If this is right, then *śṛṅgāra-rasa*, the sentiment of love, is above all developed therein. There are many intimations iddeed that this is the case. As we have seen, the *Dhvanyāloka* says a few words regarding the sorts of poetic compositions. As to the *kathā*, the author says, that, on the one hand,

it shows the same style as the *ākhyāyikā*, but that, on the other hand, attention must be drawn to a distinctive feature peculiar to that sort of poetry; and this peculiarity consists in the fact that in the composition in question the description or rather development of the *śṛṅgāra-rasa* takes place. Rudraṭa characterizes the *kathā*, still more distinctly, pointing out that this composition winds up with the winning of a girl, and that on account of this fact the *rasa* of *śṛṅgāra* becomes fully developed; and therefore we read in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*: *kathāyāṃ s a r a s a ṃ v a s t u gadyair eva vinirmitam.*

The character of the *kathā* being as described, we are not surprised to find that its linguistic form differs from that of the *ākhyāyikā*. As the hero is not himself the narrator, and as we have a continuous narration here, the conditions of which are different from those of the *ākhyāyikā*, it can be understood that a division into chapters (called *ucchvāsa*) is wanting, by which fact the appearance of the couple of *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* stanzas is excluded; but, on the other hand, there some stanzas may occur in the course of the story in the *kathā* as well as in the *ākhyāyikā*. The character of the whole is not changed thereby. It has been pointed out before that Daṇḍin's remark regarding this point is based on an intentionally false interpretation of Bhāmaha's words. The same must be said concerning the matter in question here. Daṇḍin states (I, 24) that the *kathā* in contrast to the *ākhyāyikā* is to be narrated (*nāyakenetareṇa vā*) by the *nāyaka* or another person. If we had not the book of Bhāmaha, we could not

but assume that Daṇḍin states the opinion of his predecessor correctly, This is not the case. Through the supplementary *itareṇa vā* an important point of distinction is almost effaced. Daṇḍin intends to make the question of the narrator quite subordinate, and to point out that *ākhyāyikā* and *kathā* have no essential differences.

These have probably been the characteristic features of and also the connection between both *ākhyāyikā* and *kathā* during the period of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. But, as other subjects out of the wide domain of *alaṃkāra* have undergone many changes in course of time, so, in the present case, the old views could not remain unaltered for ever. While the *kathā* was less touched by such changes, (probably because it was younger), the *ākhyāyikā* had lost its original character already in the time of the *Kāvyādarśa*. Among the literary compositions there may have been many types of *ākhyāyikā*· That, however, is certain : Had Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* and *Kādambarī*, which two compositions are called *ākhyāyikā* and *kathā* by the poet himself, been written before Daṇḍin's time, then Daṇḍin's treatment of these sorts of composition would have been totally different from the one we now find in the *Kāvyādarśa*.

The oldest example of *ākhyāyikā* we know of is the *Harṣacarita* by Bāṇa, who lived about the year 620 A. D. We shall analyse this poem from the standpoint of the *śāstra*, in order to get an idea what the form of *ākhyāyikā* was in that period.

The composition opens with twenty-one introductory stanzas, the metre of which is the *śloka*. The

beginning is a *namaskriyā*, first to Śiva and Pārvatī (1, 2), secondly to Vyāsa (3). Then follows a long discourse about poet and poetry in general. We are told of bad *kavis* and plagiaries, of the difference of style, and of the difficulty for the good poet to combine all necessary qualities (4-8). In the highly interesting and important stanzas 10-18 the famous poets and poems are mentioned, eg. the poets Hari-candra, Sātavāhana, Pravarasena, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, and the poems *Vāsavadattā*, *Bṛhatkathā*, and, finally, Āḍhyarāja's *Utsāha*. In spite of these "stars" Bāṇa has decided to write an *ākhyāyikā* in honour of the king Harṣa (19). Stanza 20 contains a praise of the *ākhyāyikā*, and with a *jagatī* verse this metrical part closes.

We will stop here for a moment in order to compare what Rudraṭa has said regarding the *ākhyā-yikā* with these introductory stanzas. According to Rudraṭa the introducton is in verse. It should contain first a *namaskriyā* to the gods and to the *gurus* or the *guru*. Secondly the introduction contains the praise of the former poets and the confession of one's own inability, and, finally, the expression of the poet's devotion to the king, which devotion is the cause (as we may add to complete Rudraṭa's idea) that the poet notwithstanding his want of ability is willing to write the poem. All these peculiarities are found strictly observed in the introductory verses of Bāṇa's. What else can be concluded from this strict agreement of theory and practice than that the prototye for Rudraṭa's *ākhyāyikā* was just the *Harṣacarita* ?

Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin say nothing concerning these opening stanzas, so that it is doubtful whether according to the older opinion the *ākhyāyikā* was introduced by a metrical passage or not. Probably it was; for as according to Bhāmaha at the beginning of the first *ucchvāsa* there were not these two stanzas spoken of above, it must have been something else that was placed before the first chapter.

We return to the *Harṣacarita*. After the described metrical part comes the prose story. As the poem has not been brought to an end by the author we possess only eight *ucchvāsas*. That the chapters were called *ucchvāsas* by Bāṇa himself is proved by what he says in the tenth introductory stanza: *ucchvāsānte 'py akhinnās te yeṣāṃ vaktre sarsvatī, katham ākhyāyikākārā na te vandyāḥ kavīśvarāḥ*. Here three terms: *ucchvāsa*, *vaktra*, *and aparavaktra* are alluded to excepting the first *ucchvāsa*, which begins with a 'scholarly' tract, every *ucchvāsa* opens with a pair of stanzas. The reader will very easily find out that these stanzas contain an indication of what is to happen in the chapter in question. As to the metre we have the following scheme: second *ucchvāsa*: two *āryās*, third *ucchvāsa*: one *śloka* and one *āryā*, fourth *ucchvāsa*: the same; fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth *ucchvāsa*: two *āryās* each.

The prose part gives first a very detailed account of the poet's family which subject extends to the third *ucchvāsa*: the poet speaks of his ancestors and his youth (*ucchvāsa* 1), his introduction to the court by king Harṣa's stepbrother. Though Bāṇa was

received here rather coolly he soon grew the prince's favourite (2). After the poet had returned to his own country he narrates to his relatives the history of King Harṣa. In the same (3rd) *ucchvāsa* this chief story begins and is treated up to the end of the whole tale, where it breaks off.

Sometimes there are stanzas in the *ucchvāsas* which are, however, of no great importance to the construction and the development of the story. In the first *ucchvāsa* we meet a stanza called *apara-vaktra* by the author himself (p. 18), the second *ucchvāsa* contains three stanzas in *vasantatilaka* (p. 54), *śārdūlavikrīḍita* (p. 69), and *aparavaktra* (p. 78); the third two pairs of stanzas : *āryā* (p. 86), *sragdharā* (p. 93); the fourth a couple of verses in *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* (p. 125 : "*vaktrāpara-vaktre papāṭha*") and besides that, one verse in *āryā* (p. 140); the fifth a stanza in the *śloka*-metre (p. 153) and another in *aparavaktra* (p. 159), the sixth only one stanza in *āryā*; the two last *ucchvāsa* contain no verses at all, which is somewhat remarkable. Thus, the usual metres are the *vaktra*, *aparavaktra*, and *āryā*, which may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that in the older authoritative books on *alaṃkāra* these metres were spoken of chiefly.

Comparing these points also with what Rudraṭa says, a full agreement appears again. According to this scholar the poet should describe his own race in prose. Can this be considered as a typical feature of every *ākhyāyikā*? As that is not very probable, Rudraṭa has apparently generalised the case of the

*Harṣacarita.* Still something else may be gathered from this peculiar treatment of the matter by Rudraṭa, viz., that in the time of Rudraṭa the old type of of *ākhyāyikā* was but a matter of past ages and was only spoken of in a traditional way out of respeet to the great masters. Further : at the head of every *ucchvāsa* the poet should give two stanzas in *āryā.* A couple of stanzas, indeed, opens every chapter ; and the metre is *āryā* with the exception of the third and fourth *ucchvāsa,* where the former of these stanzas is a *śloka.* This is, of course, only a very slight variation, showing that this rule of Rudraṭa's should not be taken too strictly. Finally there is agreement concerning the metric form of the stanzas within the *ucchvāsas* themselves : According to Rudraṭa the metre is not prescribed, though *vaktra, aparavaktra,* and *āryā* are employed with preference, and this is the fact with the *Harṣacarita.*

It is of still greater interest to compare the *ākhyāyika,* as it is represented by Bāṇā's *Harṣacarita* with the rules given by Bhāmaha. There are some points of manifest uniformity : first, the *Harṣacarita* is divided into chapters called *ucchvāsas,* secondly, these *vcchvāsas,* but not the first, are opened by stanzas indicating the tenors of the chapter in question, and thirdly the subject matter of the poem is not an invented story but a true account of something which was experienced (*vṛtta*) by the hero or whosoever it may be.

Considering this last point, we see, however, a highly important difference. In the *Harṣacarita* the hero himself is apparently not the narrator, but

Harṣadeva's biography is told by another person, who witnessed the described events. Though Bāṇa gives a very minute account of his own race and though his personal affairs are closely connected with Harṣadeva, he can by no means be considered as the *nāyaka* ; the title of the work, too, is *Harṣacarita.* As the poem is but a fragment, the length of the author's own biography appears to be of a mere casual character. A second difference (but far less important than the one just mentioned) concerns the metre of the stanzas which introduce every *ucchvāsa* : according to Bhāmaha the metre is *vaktra* and *aparavaktra,* while in the *Harṣacarita* it is never of this kind but mostly *āryā, vaktra* and *aparavaktra* occur in Bāṇa's work only in the *ucchvāsas* themselves. This difference is, however, not so important as might be thought at first sight, because it has been pointed out on a previous occasion that, in spite of Daṇḍin's interpretation, not the form of the metre but rather the indicative character of this couple of stanzas was in the opinion of Bhāmaha the essential matter.

These considerations lead to an important result : the prototype of Bhāmah's *ākhyāyikā* was not the *Harṣacarita* by Bāṇa, which does not agree with the theory, but some older work, which has not come to us. This fact makes it very improbable that Bhāmaha should have lived after Bāṇa, as some scholars are inclined to believe.

Thus we have a younger form of the *ākhyāyikā,* which in the seventh century A. D. was considered as a separate kind, in spite of Daṇḍin's denial of the

difference. The following points may be mentioned as its chief characteristics :

1 The subject-matter gives historical facts.
2 It is not necessary that the hero himself is the narrator.
3 There are chapters called *ucchvāsas.*
4 Every *ucchvāsa,* but not the first, opens with two stanzas (metre usually *āryā*), which indicate what will happen in the *ucchvāsa* in question.
5 The whole story begins with a metric introduction of a literary character.

The *ākhyāyikā* was in contrast to the *kathā* ; and the *kathā* is, as we have seen, the Indian novel. We possess two examples of *kathā* from the older period : Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* and Bāṇa's *Kādambarī.* Though as regards this case matters are less complicated, we shall analyze both stories shortly in order to compare them with the doctrine of the *śāstra.*

Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* begins with twelve introductory *āryā* stanzas, that commence with a *namaskriyā* to Sarasvatī, Kṛṣṇa, and Śiva. After that the sinfulness of man and the inferiority of the whole world since king Vikramāditya's death, is spoken of. Then the good poets are praised, and with the statement of the poet's authorship the metric introduction closes. The contents of the prose need not be given here in detail.

It is a well-known fact that we do not find this form of the story as it is presented in Subandhu's work any where else in Indian literature, so that

we may venture to assume that, at least as regards particulars, the story is invented by the poet, and this is the very fact which according to the opinion of the older *ālaṃkārikas* is a mark of difference between *ākhyāyikā* and *kathā*. To this point the words *kaver abhiprāyakṛtair aṅkanaiḥ kaiścid aṅkitā* used in the definition of Bhāmaha must evidently refer. We have in this case the peculiar feature of a novel, which fact finds expression by Bhāmaha's term *kanyāharaṇasaṃgrāmavipralxmbhodaya.*

Mentioning this we come to a point in which the *Vāsavadattā* does not agree wholly with the theories of the old scholars, for in our novel the events are peaceful on the whole. The struggle we hear of in the last pages of the story has nothing to do with the development of the plot. It seems to be, on the contrary, totally unnecessary here. We will, however, abstain from pursuing the question further here. Conceding that the way Vāsavadattā was carried off from her native town to the *Vindhya* mountains can be correctly called a *kanyāharaṇa* (which is not probable), we hear not one word about a struggle caused thereby, and the word *saṃgrāma* can have no other meaning than "struggle", especially not here on account of the preceding *āharaṇa* which means "taking by force."

Rudraṭa presents, as we have seen, some differences concerning the matter in question. Instead of *kanyāharaṇa* he speaks of *kanyālābha*, which has not quite the same meaning as the former term, and what appears to be more important, he does not mention any *saṃgrāma*. Considering this there can be no

doubt that the prototype of Bhāmaha's *kathā* was by no means Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, but another story, in which the struggle caused by the seizing of a girl was described.

In other less important points the *Vāsavadattā* is in accordance with the opinion of Bhāmaha: the narrator is not the hero, nor is there a division into chapters (called *ucchāsas*), the tale being told without interruption up to the end. It need not be mentioned that there are no stanzas (*vaktra* and *aparavaktra*) indicating the tenor of the following parts. Within the story, however, the poet gives stanzas sometimes, but their metre is never *vaktra* and *aparavaktra*; verses occur three times: three stanzas: *āryā*, *śārdūlavikrīḍita*, *śārdūlavikrīḍita*: three stanzas: *śikhariṇī*, *śikhariṇī*, *sragdhrā*; one stanza: *āryā*.

Another example of the *kathā* is the *Kadambarī* by Bāṇa. It does not matter that this story has not been completed by the author himself, but by his son Bhūṣaṇabhaṭṭa. Though the tale is more intricate than the *Vāsavadattā*, the form is similar to that of the composition just described.

The prose-story is introduced by some stanzas in the *vaṃśastha* metre. They begin with a *namaskriyā* to Brahman, Śiva, and Viṣṇu, and to the author's *guru* Bhatsu. After that the poet speaks of the sinfulness of men and of the effect of good poetry. Then follows an account of Bāṇa's race and family, and with the statement of the authorship the introduction comes to an end. Then follows the prose-story, the tenor of which need not be detailed.

It can easily be pointed out that, as in the case of the *Harṣacarita*, Bāna's *Kādambarī* was the model for Rudraṭa's *kathā*. Concerning the introductory stanzas (*śloka*, in the word's wider sense) Rudraṭa says ; *iṣṭān devān gurūn namaskṛtya.* Further the poet should, according to this author, describe his own race in verse shortly. The prose-story begins with another tale and ends with the winning of the beloved girl.

Thus the *Kādambarī* is a novel quite similar to the *Vāsavadattā.* The subject-matter is not based on a known *itihāsa,* but is sprung from the poet's own imagination. As well as in the *Vāsavadattā* nothing is said of a *saṃgrāma.*

It is very obvious here just as in the case of the *Hārṣacarita* that the prototype of Bhāmaha's *kathā* cannot have been the *Kādambarī* (nor the *Vāsavadattā*), but an older work, which we do not know yet. Combining this fact with some other considerations I can scarcely believe that Bāṇabhaṭṭa should have written before Bhāmaha.

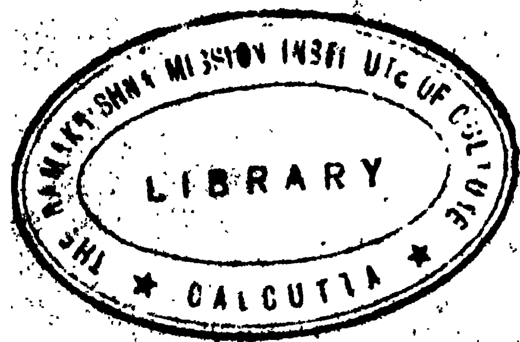
The newer *kathā*, then, shows the following features :

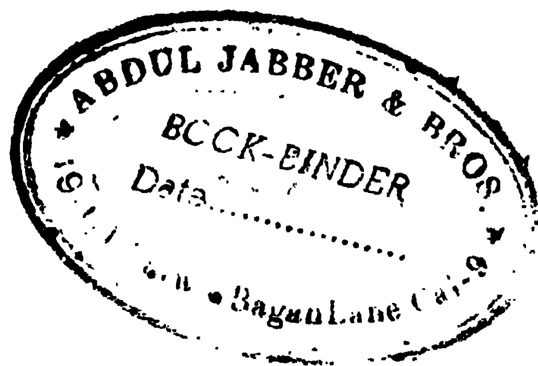
1 The subject-matter is a story for the most part invented by the poet, a love story ending with the union of the lovers.

2 The narrator is not the hero himself.

3 The story is not divided into chapters.

4 At the beginning there is a literary introduction in verse.


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